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ABSTRACT

Conference papers on second language classrooms and culture are presented, including: "Intercultural Communication as Interpersonal Communication" (Kensaku Yoshida); "Classroom Cultures: East Meets West" (Dominic Cogan); "Laying Down the Law: Teachers' Use of Rules" (Gregory Bornmann); "Student Behavior: Whose Norms?" (Stephen M. Ryan); "What Makes a Good Language Lesson?" (Ryan); "Learning Styles of Japanese Students" (Naoko Ozeki); "A Longitudinal Study on JSL Learners' Nonverbal Behavior" (Yutaka Ikeda, Tomoko Ikeda); "Japanese Students' Nonverbal Responses: What They Teach Us" (Ian Nakamura); and "Language Social Meaning, and Social Change: The Challenge for Teachers" (Sandra J. Savignon). (MSE)

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Section Four

Classrooms and Culture

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Intercultural Communication as Interpersonal Communication

Kensaku Yoshida
Sophia University

Introduction

This morning, as I turned on the television in my room, I was shocked by the news of the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin of Israel. In our ever-shrinking world where people must learn to live with each other—to accept each other as individuals—it is sad to know that there are still many people who will not tolerate other people's values and opinions. While a sad incident in itself, I feel that it more than anything forces us to reconsider the importance of intercultural and interpersonal communication in our world today.

Let me begin my talk with an experience from my junior high school days. I had lived in the United States and Canada for six years before returning to Japan at the age of thirteen. When I returned to Japan, I had almost completelyforgotten my Japanese, outside of the ability to conduct everyday conversation. The first year back in a Japanese school, I barely understood what was going on in class. I could understand the "language" to an extent, but I could not really understand the "meaning" of what was being said. In a sense, I was placed in a situation which resembles that of many people who, in a foreign cultural environment, are unable to comprehend the real meaning of the circumstances in which they find themselves, even when they understand the language being used. For example, when a Japanese replies, *"Kangaesasete kudasai* (Let me think about it)" to a request, foreigners might understand the "literal" meaning of the phrase and expect a positive response. However, this phrase is very often used as a polite and indirect way of saying, "No." Understanding the language does not necessarily mean that the meaning underlying its use is also understood.

Let us now look at this problem of language and meaning from a slightly different perspective. The Japanese are very often criticized for not speaking out and giving their opinions in discussions with foreigners. There are several possible reasons which might help to explain this phenomenon. One might be cultural. As was suggested by Masao Niisato of the Ministry of Education onthe first day of this conference, it is true that the Japanese cultural tradition emphasizes the art of non-verbal communication: the less language used to communicate an idea, the more refined it is considered to be. Take *haiku*, for example. There is a limit to the number of syllables allowed in its creation, but the meaning expressed and inferred is vast.

Aside from this "cultural" explanation, however, there is another point I would like to mention. The educational system itself, which in many cases is still very much teacher-centered, might be another reason. There are very little so-called "show-and-tell" type activities in Japanese education. In fact, some people suggest that this "passive" learning environment deprives the Japanese of the opportunity to express or to form their own opinions. However, this is not necessarily a problem showing a lack of "what" to say, but "how" to say it.

The fact that there are so few Japanese capable of attaining the superior level in oral English on the ACTFL speaking scale, which requires the ability to use English to "support opinions," "make hypotheses," "discuss abstract topics," and "handle linguistically unfamilar situations," does not mean that Japanese cannot use the so-called cognitively demanding func-

tions of language— they are capable of doing so in their own native language, Japanese.

The problem here is not simply one of either cultural differences or "not having anything to say." It is a problem of not having enough proficiency in the functional use of English to express higher-level cognitive skills—for the expression of one's opinions and ideas, in other words, for "self-expression."

Recent Changes in the Direction of Foreign Language Education in Japan

I have tried to indicate through the above examples the importance of cultural factors as well as the development of self-expression ability in assessing the proficiency of Japanese in their use of English. Changes made by the Ministry of Education in its guidelines for high school foreign language education point to the importance of the ability to use English for communication purposes, as well as the importance of incorporating cultural factors in the education process for the purpose of developing skills for international communication. Furthermore, the Committee on University Education, an advisory committee of the Ministry of Education, has noted in its proposal that university education must emphasize the development of critical thinking skills, as well as the ability to cope with modern techonology, the development of self-expression, and proficiency in foreign languages.

In other words, the emphasis on English education in Japan is now without a doubt placed on oral communication, with the ultimate aim of attaining international understanding and cooperation, the development of critical thinking skills, and the use of English self-expression skills towards that end.

Cultural Factors in Foreign Language Teaching

The aim of my talk is not to simply elucidate and argue about all the complicated and diverse socio-psychological phenomena that have been researched in the area of intercultural communication and attitude change. Nor do I have anything near the final word concerning the incorporation of intercultural communication in our foreign language curriculum. However, what I do want to say is that the way culture has been treated in the foreign language classroom has most often been (at least in Japan) in the form of "supplementary" materials for the students to know for interest's sake only, and not as a skill to be used in communication. In this "test-oriented" country where virtually everything is tested, knowledge about culture and intercultural communication taught in the English classroom has never been tested. I'm not saying that cultural factors should also be included in our already overpacked examinations—although, heaven forbid, there seems to be talk about doing so. All I'm saying is that although cultural factors have been included in our English classes, they have never really held any position of significance in our teaching of English for the purpose of communication.

However, the aim to teach English for oral communication purposes presupposes that we will be communicating with people of other countries and cultures; what meaning is there in Japanese talking to each other in English? This, in turn, suggests that cultural and intercultural communication factors should be given primary importance in our foreign language curriculum.

What Kind of Culture?

It is possible to consider the basic values and beliefs of a people who speak a common language as an essential part of their culture. It is this kind of culture that we were introduced to most when we studied English literature in university. I remember being told by my professors the importance of studying the works of classic western philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, the Bible, and the works of Shakespeare. We were told that unless we understood the basic ideas expressed in these works, we could not really understand English literature—because these were the unchanging foundations on which all subsequent western civilization was built.

I do not question the validity of this claim. The great monuments, fine art, music, and other artifacts of the past are also a part of this grand historic view of culture. They are representive of an era and the values most cherished in it. Some people call this High Culture in contrast to the Low Culture that we experience in our everyday lives.

However, no matter how important these cultural values might be in learning about a civilization, knowing them alone does not give us much help in understanding what constitutes "privacy" for a certain person, or the intricacies of human relationships (social distance vs. psychological distance, inner circle vs. outer circle, etc.) and the linguistic forms used to express them.

Then there is the "Overt" everyday culture. Here belong cultural events which can be explained and described such as the holidays of Christmas, Halloween, Valentine's Day (White Day), Independence Day, Children's Day,

Respect for the Aged Day, etc. There are also non-specified events such as weddings, funerals, commencement/graduation ceremonies, sports events and cultural events. More traditional cultural arts and sports such as flower arrangement, tea ceremony, judo, sumo, American football, and baseball are also a part of this culture. And finally, there are things like manners—for all occasions—which would also be included in this category. All of these events can be systematically explained and described.

As the case of the young Japanese high school student mistakenly shot to death trick-or-treating on Halloween in the United States shows, there is a need not just to learn about, but also learn how to behave in these overt cultural events. However, once you learn them, normally that's it.

There is one other kind of cultural concern which tends to have a greater impact on our day-to-day intercultural dealings. We could call this "Covert" culture—simply because, unlike Overt culture, it is so much more difficult to define and explain. Suppose you were at a party, what topics could you talk about? With a man? With a woman? How would you decide the kind of language to use in a certain situation? Informal? Formal? A special register? etc. What kind of language function does a certain social situation warrant? Should you say "I'm sorry," or "Excuse me," or "Watch where you're going"? How do you interpret a human relationship when it is different from that in your own culture? For example, attitudes towards old people, little children, the opposite sex, etc. There are no easy ways to come up with objective solutions to these problems—solutions agreeable to everybody. There are no set "rules," as in the case of Overt culture; futhermore, unlike the High culture's unchanging cultural values, they are changeable with the times, as well as with the individual situations inwhich they appear.

In teaching intercultural communication at the everyday level of personal communication, I think it can be seen that what we need to teach more, if at all possible, is the Covert kind of culture which I just mentioned. Overt cultural events should, of course, be taught. The basic western values should also be taught in literary and historical contexts. However, if the object of our educational endeavor is to be directed towards the education of Japanese capable of coping with people of foreign cultures in actual communication situations, then we will have to lay more emphasis on the teaching of Covert culture.

Covert Culture as a Personal Phenomenon

One of the difficulties with treating Covert culture is that it tends to be revealed more in terms of individual behavior than in terms of social manifestations. In other words, because there is little systematic description possible, each member of the cultural community will have more or less the freedom to define its characteristics according to his or her own interpretation.

What this says, in turn, is that the teaching of Covert culture must involve more than simple stereotypical explanations of what a certain cultural trait means. It must necessarily include individualized realizations of the cultural trait as it appears in actual communication. In other words, intercultural communication involving the understanding of Covert culture must of necessity be taught through actual communication—it cannot simply be "read" from a textbook on intercultural communication.

The Spread of English

I have been talking up to now under the assumption that language and culture are inextricably related to each other. However, even here, in areas where Covert culture takes precedence over other more stereotypic and well-defined types of culture, there is quite a large room for diversity—even among native speakers.

What I would like to do now, is to show that this underlying assumption concerning the relationship between language and culture itself may not be as obvious as it may seem. David Crystal (1995) has written that the number of speakers of the English language, if all three circles (inner circle—mother tongue, outer circle—official or semi-official language, expanding circle—EFL) are added together, should come to somewhere between 500 million to more than 1 billion speakers. Of this number, he notes that there are more than 60 countries in the world where English is the dominant or official language.

If we assume, therefore, that English is used by people from, at least, several dozen different cultural backgrounds, how practical is it to teach the language as if it were inextricably related to one or two native English-speaking cultures? Is it possible for us to learn all the cultural values and ideas inherent in the diversity of cultural backgrounds represented by this spread of English? How can we possibly remember all the information? Again, the only practical thing to do is to actually communicate with people who use English, and try to understand them at the individual, personalized level.

Culture as Social Schema and Personal Schema

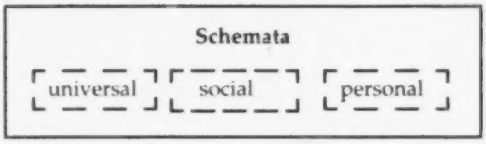
What I'd like to do at this point is to look at culture as a cognitive structure which each person has created within himself, mostly through the life-long experiences he or she has accumulated. It is normally considered that when we face a specific communicative situation, for example, relevant information, or schema, from the stock of past experiences we have accumulated is recalled and activated to help us comprehend and provide the means to get through the situation in the best possible way. There is still very little we know about this schema, but a basic distinction has often been made between what can be called "social" schema and "personal" schema (social events vs. personal events). In other words, we human beings are normally born into a society in which certain values and rules are already at work. The human relationships we experience, the ethical values we adopt, the linguistic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic conventions we acquire—these all form parts of our social schema. As long as we are born into a certain society, we cannot fully free ourselves from its social schema.

However, our cognitive structure is also greatly influenced by the personal experiences we undergo. The activation of a negative schema of, for example, a "dog" created through the experience of having been bitten by a dog as a child, has nothing to do with the social image of "Dog" in that culture or society—which might be based on a positive schema: Dog = man's best friend. In other words, the composite schemata we activate at every instance consist of both social and personal schema—making it very difficult for even individuals living within the same cultural milieu to really understand each other.

There is one more component I would like to introduce into this schematic framework. I will call this "universal" schema, because regardless of who we are, or where we come from, I believe that there is a basic universal love or consideration for other people that we can always fall back on. I'm sure that many of us have been in situations in the past where both linguistic and cultural schema were lacking, and yet, a basic belief in the goodwill of the people we faced helped to form a congenial human relationship. This is what I mean by the activation of "universal" schema. I know that social schemata (e.g. caste and other social hierarchical systems), as well as strong personal schemata (e.g. past experiences of being victimized in criminal incidents and violence) very often over-ride this universal schema. However, if our objective is to develop intercultural understanding and initiate active intercultural communication, then we cannot just sit behind the windows of our social and personal schemata, looking at what goes on outside, safe and sound within our own little world. We must take the risk of walking out into that world; and a reliance on the existence of a universal schema, I believe (whether conscious or not), is what helps us take that risk.

Figure 1 is a simple summary of the components of the schemata we normally use in our everyday lives.

Figure 1: **Schemata**



Scripts and Their Characteristics

Going back to social and personal schemata, one of our problems is to find out whether or not there is anything in the broad definition of schema (including virtually everything that a person has experienced in his life) which might more readily be used in our teaching endeavor. There is a special kind of schema called "script" which consists of routines that we go through in our everyday lives— very often without even being aware of doing so. The importance of these scripts is that our daily lives are assumed to be composed of one script after another. We begin our day with a personal script consisting of a routine sequence of events that we go through every morning as we get up. During the course of the day, we enact our roles in different kinds of social scripts such as eating at a restaurant, taking the train or bus to school, shopping, making reservations, attending meetings and classes, etc., and then end the day with a personal script consisting of a sequence of events we enact after going home and going to bed.

The importance of scripts can be seen in the role they play in our daily lives. Scripts provide us with a "predictable" and very often automatized framework within which we can enact our roles without placing too much of a burden on our mental capacities. For example, there are times when we get to work only to become suddenly worried about whether we had locked the door to our house, turned off the lights, etc. In more cases than not, we find out that we HAD locked the door and HAD turned off the lights. Since these things are a part of our morning

script, we tend to do them without even being aware of them. The same goes for social scripts. We do not think about what to do in what sequence when we take the train or bus to work. We can already predict what will happen when we go to a restaurant. So even when we are enacting a certain script, if the script has already become automatized, we can use the time to think of other things.

One thing we can teach as part of intercultural communication is the typical social scripts which exist in a foreign culture. At the same time that we can teach the typical sequence of events comprising the various social scripts, we can also teach the linguistic expressions which appear with them. Many of the expressions used in scripts are formulaic and idiomatic, and they attain a special meaning within the scripts in which they appear. When a waitress says, "Is everything all right?" or "How's everything?" she is not asking about our physical condition. When a Japanese says, *"Tsumaranai mono desu ga"* and gives somebody a present, she does not really think it's a "stupid or worthless" gift. These expressions attain their special meanings only because they are used in a specific script. If a friend drops a stack of important documents and you say, "Is everything all right?," you mean something quite different from what the waitress meant in the restaurant script. In other words, scripts have tendency to define meaning, and, therefore, are ideal situations in which to learn culturally significant linguistic expressions.

Pragmalinguistic and Sociolinguistic Schemat

Scripts, of course, are not the only kind of schema we activate in communication. There are also so-called language functions which we use depending on the pragmatic intentions we have. If we want to ask someone to do something for us, we would use an expression with a Request function (e.g. would you, could you, can you, will you, etc.): if we want to make a suggestion, we might use an expression from an Advice function (e.g., why don't you, I suggest, it might be a good idea to, etc.), and so forth.

These functional expressions are sometimes included under the term pragmalinguistics. One characteristic is that in most cases, the situation and the intention is clear to the speaker, but the appropriate expression is not. Many of the research in the area of interlanguage pragmatics has dealt with pragmalinguistic functions and the different ways they are expressed in different languages as well as different sociolinguistic situations.

There are other non-script sociolinguistic schemata which are even more troublesome than the pragmalinguisitic problems. These are sometimes called sociopragmatics, and the difference between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic phenomena is that whereas in the case of the former the situation is given and the functional expression is the problem, in the case of the latter, the problem is that the social situation itself is not correctly acknowledged. Problems can be related to privacy—what can be an appropriate topic of conversation in which situation; human relations—construing the socially accepted human relationship,which, in many societies, could be the basis for selection of topics, register, etc.; taboos—what is forbidden in certain societies and cultures; and values and beliefs—religious, ethical, etc.

Individual Variation

As I mentioned earlier, the more covert a cultural trait becomes, the more varied its representation becomes, and the more individual variation there will be in its interpretation. Although speakers of the same linguisitic community might have little difficulty in dealing with social script situations, once they start dealing with non-script situations, even they will experience all sorts of misunderstandings and confusion, as can be seen in Tannen's (1986, 1990, 1994) popular works.

Teaching social scripts and the relevant expressions, although there are various degrees of freedom in both sequence and linguistic expression, is relatively easy even in the foreign language classroom. Many of the expressions can be learned in display activities and simple role play situations.

The difficulty is with the non-script situations. In simple situations, pragmalinguistic expressions might be relatively easy to learn. However, in situations where sociopragmatic considerations must be included in the decision as to the expression to be used, then things can become very complicated. What is the appropriate thing to say? Should I use a direct or an indirect form of expression?, etc. Furthermore, if individual native speakers begin to differ even among themselves, coupled with the fact that the English language is now being used by so many people of so many different cultural backgrounds, it becomes essential to find a way to deal with these more difficult intercultural communication problems at the individual level—through actual communication acts.

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The Need for Self-Expression

If intercultural communication must ultimately depend on interpersonal communication ability, then we must direct our foreign language classes towards the training of interpersonal communication. At the very beginning of this talk, I mentioned that the difficulties experienced by the Japanese in expressing their opinions is probably to a large extent a problem of not having had proper training in self-expression. When people talk about teaching conversation, most people only look at the interactional side of "speech"—as the term conversation suggests. However, there is another side to speaking, and that is the use of language for the purpose of forming thoughts and ideas—in other words, for self-expression purposes.

The method I have suggested elsewhere to teach self-expression takes an idea from research in learning strategies and Di Pietro's (1987) Strategic Interaction. I have used a form of restrospective reporting of the underlying perceptions, feelings, thoughts, ideas, and intentions of interactants in problem-solving situations, which define the verbal expressions they use. I have tried to use the method , for example, to show how differences in perception might result in different or similar linguistic expressions and behaviors, in both native and intercultural situations. The basic idea has been to develop a method whereby both cultural and individual differences could be observed and incorporated in the teaching of interpersonal communication. The basic outline of the method is given below.

Figure 2 Using Self-Expressions to Solve (Intercultural) Communication Problems at the Personal Level

<Situation where intercultural communication gap exists>

Step 1: Mutual Analysis of Intercultural Communication Gap

Mutual Self-expressions about communication situation
same perception? ↓ *different perception?*

Comparison of feelings and thoughts behind (verbal) behavior
social schema? ↓ *personal schema?*

Step 2: Adjustment of Differences Towards Mutual Understanding
universal schema?

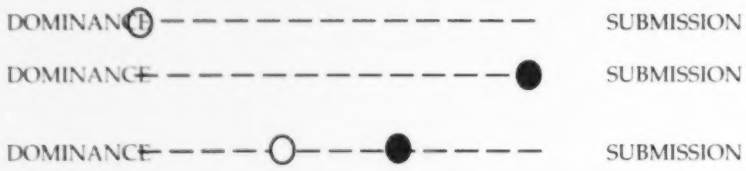
For example, given a situation in which it is now five o'clock, signifying the end of the workday, the perception of a Westerner might be that the rest of the day can now be used for his own private life. However, to a Japanese worker, it might be perceived as the beginning of the second stage of his job in which, over food and drinks, human relationships among the workers are formed and talked about. If, because of the different perceptions about the situation, a conflict in opinion occurs between the foreign worker and his Japanese colleagues, the idea is to have the parties involved express their own thoughts and feelings about the situation—in other words, to tell their side of the story. There might be social schematic differences as well as personal schematic differences.

However, the next step, after everything has been said by both sides, is to find a means to adjust each other's position in order to come up with a common solution on which both sides might agree. This will be discussed in the following section of this talk.

Intercultural Communication as a Mutual Activity

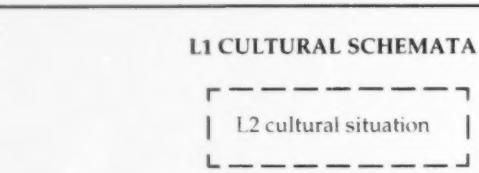
As was inferred above, another point which must be mentioned is that communication in any form must be mutual. As Widdowson (1984) points out, being either too dominant in one's opinion or too submissive, to the extent that you cannot even express your own ideas about a certain topic (think of two lovers—everything looks "too" perfect—you tend to accept everything about the other person, only to find out later...), becomes a hindrance to real communication. It's not easy to maintain a level of dominance and submission which makes an "optimal" level of communication possible—a level of communication in which both participants learn to accept the other's position and ideas. However, the process of communication is just such a process of *adjusting* the levels of dominance and submission so that an optimal level can be reached by both participants (see Figure 3).

Figure 3: Adjustment as an Essential Component of Communication



If a person were so dominant that he were to stop at the stage of expressing his own position, without consideration for the other person's position, he would be going only so far as the stage of self-expression. If a person were so submissive that he had no opinions of his own, he would not even be at the stage of self-expression. However, what is necessary is for the interactants to adjust their positions so that they can come to a solution on which both might agree and act accordingly.

Figure 4 Monocultural Level: I understand, but I am correct and you are wrong



Levels of Intercultural Communication and Universal Schemata

To sum up, let me present three patterns of intercultural communication which we normally observe. The first could be called the monolingual level of intercultural communication. At this level, the interactant tries to interpret all foreign cultural phenomena in terms of his or her own cultural framework (too dominant). When people complain about why foreigners do things their own way and cannot be like us, we are at this monolingual level of intercultural communication. This might be schematized as in Figure 4.

The second level is the one we are probably most accustomed to. It could be called the intercultural level, where "knowledge" and understanding of the differences between cultures is acknowledged. This is the level where intercultural awareness develops as a cognitive function. However, having an awareness of the similarities and differences between cultures does not necessarily mean that the problems arising from the differences can be solved. This might be schematized as in Figure 5.

The third level, called the transcultural level, is just that level in which differences between cultures is overshadowed by a more universal type of schema that I mentioned earlier. I believe that, despite all the retrospective discussions that might be held between speakers of different cultures, there is a limit as to how far we can go with language alone, because language is, after all, a product of the culture from which it was born. It is at this level that the ability to communicate at the interpersonal level becomes the significant factor. The *adjustment* attained between individuals will most likely be based on some form of universal schema, and this is where our educational endeavors should be directed. This might be schematized as in Figure 6.

Final Words

What I have tried to do in this talk is to show that intercultural communication and the understanding of cultural issues is an essential part of our foreign language education. At the same time, I have tried to show the difficulties involved in stereotyping cultural traits—especially covert and non-script traits. As a result I have emphasized the importance of educating

Figure 5 Intercultural Level: I understand your position.

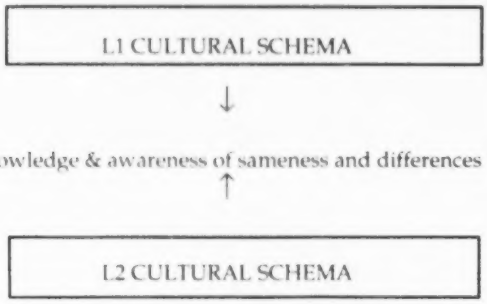
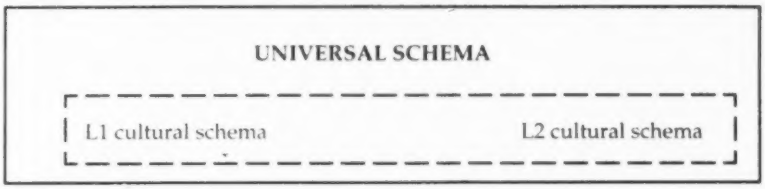


Figure 6: Transcultural Level: "I understand your position, so let's try to solve the problem."



Japanese students towards developing their abilities in self-expression. Intercultural communication is, after all, interpersonal communication. Unless we learn to deal with individuals, I do not think we will be able to solve the problems in intercultural communication either.

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Classroom Cultures: East Meets West

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Introduction

This paper is an attempt to outline some significant cultural differences between the Anglophone West and Japan which may impinge on classroom practice. It seeks to draw together the findings of a number of researchers and commentators in the field, with the author's own experience of teaching EFL both in Japan and other contexts. However, before exploring cultural differences it needs to be said that cultural similarities may in fact be even more significant though less problematic than cultural differences. It is also advisable to realise that when dealing with generalizations about cultures, the context will determine to what extent these generalizations apply.

By necessity, a number of gross generalizations which ignore significant communication style differences among Anglophone Western countries, as well as sub-cultures within Japan, will inevitably be made. Readers should be aware of the use and limitations of such generalizations and realize that cultures are complex and continually changing. All cultures incorporate competing sets of beliefs and practices which tend to invalidate stereotypical notions held by those outside the culture (see Mabuchi 1995).

Cultural differences are primarily understood here as referring to differences of culture, i.e. beliefs, values, practices, institutions, products, in terms of geographical location, nationality, or ethnicity. It is appreciated that other equally valid definitions of culture play an important role in learning and teaching outcomes. Some of these include institutions as cultures (Holliday, 1994) where the character of the setting and the cultural norms of particular subject areas influence the patterns of teacher-student communication (Greene & Hunter, 1993).

Over the years, in fact, both ESL and EFL have established their own pedagogical cultures. Teachers are acculturated appropriately through educational and training courses so that they operate from a common core of beliefs and values. Social class and gender as well as the age of the students and the presence of minorities inasmuch as these constitute cultures may also provide a significant basis for cultural misunderstandings but it is not possible to discuss these here.

Communication - East and West

Western Patterns

One of the most significant communication differences between the West and Japan is that in speech communication the *information* function as opposed to the *relationship* function of language is emphasized (Scollon & Wong-Scollon, 1995). And so the imperative to "get to the point" and to avoid "beating around the bush" is frequently invoked. Western communication aims for objectivity and according to Steward and Bennett is "problem oriented, direct, explicit, personal and informal" (1991, p. 155), while at the same time it seeks to minimize status differences. Recent research by Miller (1994), cautions against asserting too strongly the polarity of directness and indirectness when contrasting Western and Eastern cultures arguing that the differences are more of degree and are highly dependent on context.

For Westerners silence in conversation is regarded as an absence of words (doing nothing), often associated "...with something negative--tension, hostility, awkwardness, or shyness"(Condon, 1984, p.40). Barnlund notes that silence is often seen:

> as a breakdown in communicative rapport or, more seriously, as a sign of a deteriorating relationship. Silence must, or should be, filled with more words as soon as possible. (1989, p. 131)

The functions of expressing: personal opinions, disagreement, contradiction, counter argument, are other very significant aspects of Western communication. Linked as they are to the Western emphasis on individualism (Hecht, Andersen & Ribeau, 1989), the individual forges their own identity through the expression of their personal thoughts, feelings, and opinions in conversation with others.

Because of the pseudo-adversarial nature of Western communication style where interlocutors may openly disagree with the opinions of others, interruptions are common, length of turns tend to be short, and topic changes may be frequent by comparison with Japanese speech communication (Murata, 1994) .

Japanese Patterns

By contrast, Japanese conversation lays more stress on *Phatic communication* (Condon, 1985) i.e. the *relationship* function of language is emphasized. More attention is placed on the quality of interaction rather than the information that is exchanged at least in initial contact situations. Therefore, display of feelings and sensitivity is often more highly valued than verbal skill in conveying meanings (Cathcart & Cathcart, 1994).

In contrast with Western individualism, the group plays a more significant role in Japanese communication so there is considerable effort made to save face and maintain harmony.(Ting-Toomey, 1989). This leads to a style of communication dominated by the features of: "group mindedness, consensual decision-making, formalized speechmaking, ... listener responsibility" (Anderson , 1993, p.104).
This greater need to save face in collectivist or group-oriented cultures leads also to an avoidance of open disagreement. Thus there are often many indirect ways to saying "no" such as "silence, ambiguity, expression of apology, regret, doubt, lying" (Ueda quoted in Cortazzi, 1990, p.63).

Japanese communication is also characterized by a greater use of non-verbal codes to express meanings. So much so that in the classroom students may clearly (to them) indicate lack of comprehension by facial expression rather than communication through words. Thus according to Barnlund:

> A greater proportion of communication is possible without words; more of the intended meanings are conveyed through a sigh, a puzzled look, the character of a gift, a sharp intake of breath. (1989, p.128)

Apart from non-verbal communication, silence itself plays an important communicative role for the Japanese. Unlike the West, where it is seen as an absence of meaning, in Japan and many other Asian countries, it is itself "a reflection of meanings no less profound than those expressed through speech" (Barnlund, p.129).

In contrast to the pseudo-adversarial nature of Western communication patterns as described above, Japanese communication often involves longer speaking turns where there are fewer disruptive interruptions but frequent use of *aizuchi* or back-channeling. These *aizuchi* signal the listeners' attentiveness and interest and are most often expressed through verbal expressions such as *hai, ee, so desu ne, honto,* and nonverbal signals such as smiling and head nodding (Rinnert,1995, p.4).

Persistent Beliefs About Learning - East and West

In Japan, the sheer effort of mastering the Japanese reading and writing system continues to reinforce the belief that learning requires discipline and perseverance whereas in the West learning is often presented as a potentially fun activity so much so that a U.S. Department of Education report on Japanese education noted that: "A certain amount of difficulty and hardship is believed to strengthen students' character and their resolve to do their best in learning and other important endeavors. "(1991, p. 144) This difference in expectation about the nature of learning has obvious relevance to the teaching situation in Japan where oral communicative methods, originally developed in the West, have recently been introduced into high school English classes. To what extent do language games, contests and quizzes, which are an essential part of the stock-in-trade of the communicative language teacher, fit into the existing expectations about how learning should take place in Japanese educational settings?

Another belief about learning which the West is no longer ideologically comfortable with but which still holds fast in Japan is that knowledge is something to be *transmitted*. Students take notes from the teacher and memorize them as

opposed to recent Western moves towards individualized learning and learner autonomy. Of course, it may not actually be the case that learning is so different in either part of the world. What is significant are the beliefs that are espoused by each culture as opposed to what is actually done in practice.

In Japanese education there is too, a greater emphasis on the "right answer" because exams are seen as crucial whereas in the West, where a more pluralistic society is advocated, knowledge is often treated as *relative* and *negotiable*. Hence, more attention is paid to the thinking process involved in the formulation of an answer than to the correctness of the answer itself. Another significant point of difference is that Western notions of ability and IQ levels are de-emphasized in Japan at the public school level. As Kato-Tsuneyoshi points out: "...the Japanese generally believe that high-achieving children are diligent and reliable while low-achieving children are not. That there may be differences in innate abilities is simply not considered. "(1991, p. 170) Instead effort is stressed as a part of the broader spirit of *gambaru* found in the culture. While officially there is little recognition of differences in ability, the private *juku* and *yobiko* schools recognize through their streaming practices that ability levels of students do in fact vary considerably.

Teachers and Students - East and West

The Japanese teacher is seen as authoritative, particularly with regard to subject matter taught, whereas in the West, teachers are increasingly seen as *facilitators* and *resource persons* rather than as experts in a body of knowledge. In Japan the teacher may function as a model of morality, sharing in the moral formation of their students in ways that might be seen as more appropriate to parents in Western contexts. Teachers may also play the role of counselor or mentor to a far greater degree than Western teachers.

Thus trust and intimacy in the student-teacher relationship parallels the Japanese psychological construct of *amae* where the individual can rely on the benevolence of another much as a young child in the West might assume a certain attitude of indulgence on the part of a loving parent (Doi, 1974).

Contrasting Classrooms

Japanese Classrooms

Japanese education's primary goal is to socialize young people into the norms and practices of society and the roles they will be expected to perform. Norms of interaction tend to be defined by status differences between teacher and student and the context of the classroom and school which prescribes the kind of social interaction possible. Hence the Japanese classroom is in many ways a "ritual situation" (Lebra, 1976) and is seen as such by teacher and students alike. Therefore, a common aspect of communicative language teaching, i.e. , the exchange of personal ideas and feelings between interlocutors fits uneasily into this setting.

Another feature markedly different from the Western classroom is the tendency of Japanese students to engage in "consensus checking" (Anderson, 1993, p. 102) when they are asked questions which may not have a single obvious answer. This typically involves a student conferring with other students before proffering an answer; a behavior which tends to violate the Western norm of dyadic interaction between teacher and individual student

Another feature of difference between Japanese and Western classrooms is that in Japanese classrooms, where the teacher is the authority, students are required to listen and relect on what they hear. To some extent this echoes traditional Buddhist writings which stress that " knowledge, truth, and wisdom come to those whose quiet silence allows the spirit to enter"(Powell & Anderson, 1994, p. 324). Thus, the free voicing of personal opinions encouraged so much by the communicative approach is largely avoided (Cathcart & Cathcart, 1994, p. 299).

Western Classrooms

In line with the broad cultural patterns of Western culture classrooms in the Anglophone West stress individual development and personal experience. The ideal is that learners should creatively build up knowledge and concepts through activity, discovery, participation, and experience of verbal expression. Concomitant with this is the norm of *loquacity* where students are expected not only to have something to say but to be eager to express their opinions on a wide variety of topics. There is also a tendency to "reflect a Socratic ideal where student-teacher interaction plays a central role in the pursuit of knowledge" (Powell & Anderson, 1994, p. 324). Evidence of such interaction is often considered a measure of pedagogical success by Western teachers. Faced with the realities of Japanese classrooms Western teachers are often tempted to consider their lessons a failure when they fail to establish similar patterns of interaction with their Japanese students.

Some Solutions

Given the differences between Japanese and Western Anglophone countries both in classroom expectations and practice, it should be obvious that these are likely to be highly problematic for Western teachers who have been acculturated in a different set of educational norms and practices. Below are a few practical "solutions" to some of these problems. They can never be sure fire solutions in themselves since problems arise not only in cultural but also in socially specific contexts. They may, however, help teachers to experiment with approaches that might in the final analysis be more conducive for working with Japanese learners.

- Become more aware of Japanese cultural patterns. This will increase tolerance and understanding of what is really going on in the classroom.
- Partially adapt to Japanese patterns of communication and classroom interaction.
- Make your own expectations concerning classroom norms explicit to students.
- Allow more wait time for students to respond to questions.
- Write key questions on the blackboard.
- Avoid asking personal opinion questions to individuals before the whole class.
- Let students discuss ideas and opinions in groups before asking for them for a response.
- Appoint group leaders and reporters to take responsibility for group activities.

On occasion, allow students to rehearse what they are going to say by first letting them think and write down their ideas before being asked to speak.

- Learn to tune in to Japanese body language rather than relying too much on verbal cues.
- Teach appropriate Western style body language in the context of communicative competence in English.
- Teach English hesitation behavior and encourage students to use it ("well," "ehh," "mmm," "Let me see," "I'm not sure," "Sorry?")
- Give explicit instructions about what you want students to learn, e.g. "Learn off these two dialogs."
- Where you are dealing with elementary students and the topic is controversial or complicated allow students to first discuss in Japanese before asking them to do so in English. It may be that they have never thought through the topic before in their mother tongue.

Scratching the Surface

I have here been merely scratching the surface in outlining some of the cultural differences that affect educational practice in Japan and Anglophone Western countries. Culture itself is only one factor in the examination of classroom interaction. Others worth exploration are the notion of teachers and learners as individuals and how this might influence the teaching-learning equation. Motivation, age, class size, and learner abilities also play their part.

The points of cultural difference outlined in this paper should not be seen as as absolutes in any sense, but rather as indicators of possible areas of misunderstanding particularly for foreign teachers working in Japan. Whether and to what extent foreign teachers should adapt to Japanese classroom norms is debatable (Cogan, 1995). It is worth considering however, that Japanese norms, like Western norms are constantly being re-defined by shifting cultural and social patterns which continually challenge the established beliefs and practices not only of our students but also hopefully, of ourselves.

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Laying Down the Law: Teachers' Use of Rules

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Introduction

This paper offers an analysis of the way rules function in the classroom by applying insights generated by recent debates in legal theory. Scholars of the Critical Legal Studies movement (referred to hereafter as "The Critics") have been adept at identifying the logical contradictions which are pervasive in legal discourse. These contradictions—between formal rules and ad hoc standards; between subjective values and objective facts; between intentionalism and determinism—render all legal disputes problematic. As Mark Kelman points out:, "There are ... no easy cases." (1987, p.4).

The Critics have also devoted a great deal of effort to demonstrating that law and society are interpenetrating, and thus inseparable. For this reason, it would seem that the classroom, as a basic social institution, can offer especially fertile ground for legalistic analysis. In what follows, I will focus on the continual conflict between rules and standards—a conflict which I believe constitutes the fundamental ambiguity of the teacher's classroom role. And, as this difficult role is further complicated when the teacher and students are of different cultures, I will also examine the way in which the teacher's dilemma varies between cultures. In short, in a vein parallel to the Critics, I wish to demonstrate that there are no easy classes.

Rules and Standards

A classic treatment of the conflict between rules and standards can be found in Duncan Kennedy's "Form and Substance in Private Law Adjudication" (1989). Kennedy's article opens

with the recognition that there is a conflict in legal discourse between a jurisprudence based on clearly defined, general rules, and a jurisprudence based on equitable, ad hoc standards. A typical example of a rule in this sense would be a "voting age": "No one under the age of eighteen will be allowed to vote." Rules are relatively easy to administer, as their criteria are objective and verifiable—like a person's age, or the speed of a traveling automobile. A standard, on the other hand, refers directly to one of the abstract principles of legal thought, such as "good faith" or "unconscionability" or "reasonableness." Standards are considered more subjective than rules, as people may well differ in what they consider to be "reasonable" or "reckless." Thus, standards are more difficult to administer, and require the judge to exercise greater discretionary power.

In practice, however, jurisprudence oscillates back and forth between these two modes of reasoning. For example, a clear-cut rule regarding speeding, such as a 35 mile-per-hour speed limit, will usually not be enforced uniformly, as standards of applicability will be introduced: a car may only be pulled over if it is traveling "dangerously" fast, or if it is moving faster than surrounding cars, or if its driver appears "suspicious" (cf. Kelman, pp. 50-51).

In "Form and Substance," Kennedy makes two claims regarding the conflict between rules and standards. His first claim is that "altruist views on substantive private law issues lead to willingness to resort to standards in administration, while individualism seems to harmonize with an insistence on rigid rules rigidly applied" (1989, p.36). By individualism, Kennedy refers to a conception of the self whose interests are distinct or even opposed to the interests of others. Thus, individualism encourages autonomy and self-reliance. By altruism, Kennedy refers to a conception of the self whose interests are inextricably bound up with the interests of others. Thus, altruism encourages sharing and sacrifice.

Kennedy's second claim is that the conflict between rules and standards can never be resolved:"The opposed rhetorical modes lawyers use reflect a deeper level of contradiction. At this deeper level, we are divided, among ourselves and also within ourselves, between irreconcilable visions of humanity and society" (1989, p. 36).

Other Critics have described these irreconcilable visions in terms of the distinction between public and private, or between the free market and the family. The public realm of the market combines an egalitarian ideology with an individualist ethic, while the private realm of the family combines a hierarchical ideology with an altruist ethic (Olsen, 1989, p. 256). But as legal discourse labors to maintain the distinction between the family and the market, it is simultaneously working to undermine this distinction. In the words of one Critic: "The state intervenes in the market to make it more like the family, and in the family to make it more like the market" (Olsen, 1989, p. 257).

In the following account of rules and standards in the classroom, I will view the contradiction as a conflict between professionalism and paternalism. As I see it, rules allow teachers to be objective, impartial, professional; while standards allow teachers to be responsive, caring, paternalistic. And, like the distinction between public and private, the market and the family, the line that separates Professionals from Paternalists is constantly being erased and redrawn.

The Fundamental Ambiguity

In the classroom, the conflict between rules and standards is well expressed in what some educators have called "a fundamental ambiguity of the teacher's classroom role" (cf. Thorndike & Hagen, 1977, p. 288). On the one hand, the teacher is expected to be objective and impartial. On the other hand, the teacher is expected to know and respond to the individual qualities of each student. Each of these "roles" requires that classroom norms be formulated in a different manner. In the classroom, as in society, norms can be cast as explicit rules, which are applied uniformly, or as informal standards, which are applied "case by case." By the first model, a teacher's policy regarding, for example, lateness should take the form of an explicit rule: any student arriving to class after a specified time will not be admitted, whatever the circumstances. By the second model, the teacher might make no formal statement regarding lateness per se, but rather would consider each case on its merits, asking perhaps: why was the student late?, did his or her arrival interrupt a class activity?, etc.

Each model has its virtues and its flaws. Rules will often fail to achieve their intended purpose. A rule regarding lateness will exclude or punish some students who are in fact eager to learn (and do nothing to improve the quality of students which do happen to come to class on time). Standards, on the other hand, introduce the possibility of capricious or prejudicial enforcement. Students may find themselves punished only when the teacher is in a bad mood, or may begin to notice that, say, only

pretty female students may arrive late to class. Explicit rules give students clear warning about the consequences of their behavior. Informal standards take into account the unique needs and abilities of each student.

Syllabus as Contract

Kennedy focuses on contract law, an area in which legal doctrine simultaneously embraces a rule position (stating that a contract has been made if there exists an explicit offer and an explicit acceptance of that offer); and a standard-like position (requiring that both parties deal in "good faith"). In modern American legal practice, rules are privileged and considered the norm, while standards are viewed as being invoked only when necessary to deal with exceptions. But the Critics (e.g., Kennedy, 1989; Dalton, 1989; Kelman, 1987) maintain that in any legal dispute the decision to employ a rule or a standard remains essentially arbitrary.

Interestingly, at American universities, the metaphor of the contract is frequently invoked to describe the function of the syllabus. At Citrus College in California for example, faculty members are presented with a handout, one section of which is entitled "Suggestions for Making a Syllabus" (1994). The handout reminds faculty that "a class syllabus is considered a contract between an instructor and the students in the class, [thus] instructors should be careful to include all important information pertaining to class criteria and student performance." In this way, the syllabus gives students "fair notice," telling them what to expect and what is expected of them. And, like a contract, it is considered binding. That is to say, if a student came to you and said that she missed a exam because she didn't know the date, you might take out a copy of the syllabus and point to where the exam date is clearly written.

But, as the Critics might have predicted, this tight little rule-governed regime must inevitably allow for the admission of ad hoc standards. Consequently, later on in Citrus College's "Suggestions for Making a Syllabus," we read (under the category "Miscellaneous"): "Syllabi are not written in stone. As the semester progresses, instructors may change due dates and assignments... ". Now, I am not suggesting that syllabi should be written in stone. But I do suggest that this simple, supplementary, "miscellaneous" comment throws the entire notion of contractual obligation out the window. Imagine, for example, if the student who had missed the exam had simply replied: "Yes, but syllabi are not written in stone." Clearly, a contract that is not binding (mutually binding) is not much of a contract at all.

But regardless of whether your syllabus is "written in stone" or not, the question of explicitness is always an issue. This issue is especially relevant to teachers' attempts to deal with student misconduct. The more vague and standard-like the prescriptions, the more likely they are to cause misunderstanding. That is, if you urge students to be "prepared" or "conscientious," your students will probably interpret these words differently than you do. Thus you risk being accused of not giving students fair warning. Of having students say: "But I didn't know that I was doing anything wrong." On the other hand, the more explicit and rule-like your syllabus, the more you foster a literal-minded attitude toward rules. That is, it encourages them to "walk the line." Thus a detailed list of forbidden behavior ("sleeping in class, reading comic books, chatting with friends, doing homework for other classes") will inspire a student to look up at you innocently and say: "But Mr. Bornmann, I'm not reading a comic book. I'm reading a newspaper."

Of course, the way we solve this problem is by having it both ways, employing rules as well as standards, thus: "no sleeping in class, nor reading comic books or newspapers, nor chatting with your friends, nor doing homework for other classes, nor any other inappropriate behavior." We start out very rule-like, list several examples, then sign off with a vague, objectively undefinable word like "inappropriate." This is how we preserve our discretionary power, and reserve the right to look at a student who is doing something we don't like, and point our fingers, and declare: "THAT is inappropriate behavior!" But the point remains that whenever we move from rules to standards (or back again), we are passing between our two different modes of reasoning. As professionals, we have begun to act "unprofessionally" at that moment when we have suddenly switched modes. At that moment, the professional is reduced to the mode of the exasperated parent, whose final line of defense in a dispute is: "Because I said so." We have been transformed into a Paternalist, whose prescriptions issue not from "neutral principles," but from personal authority.

Western Professionalism vs. Japanese Paternalism

Unlike contract law in the United States, which favors the rhetoric of individualism, contract law in Japan favors the rhetoric of altruism. Consequently, the contract in Japan is

"simple and flexible" (Oda, 1992, p. 198). It is viewed as "tentative rather than definite" (Kawashima, 1974, p. 15), and disputes are resolved "by means of ad hoc consultation" (Ibid.) In fact, anthropologist Hiroshi Wagatsuma (1984, p. 377) suggests that the conflict between written laws and ad hoc judgements is parallel to the Japanese concepts of *tatemae* ("official stance") and *honne* ("real intention"). In short, in Japanese contract law, not rules but standards such as "good faith" and "harmony" (Wagatsuma, p. 375) hold a privileged position.

Not surprisingly, the Japanese university syllabus follows the model of the Japanese contract. The syllabus tends to be short and flexible, if it even exists. And, more importantly, even if the syllabus is detailed and explicit, the students are less likely to view it as a binding contract in the Western sense, than as a simple statement of the teacher's intentions; a plan that the teacher can revise at any time, in order to better serve the needs of students. The Japanese syllabus, we might say, is *tatemae*.

This same flexibility is apparent in student evaluation. In language classes at western universities, "objectively measured performance ... is typically the basis for grading" (Clayton, 1993, p. 127) At Japanese universities, however, language teachers are usually free to consider subjective factors like effort and improvement, when formulating grades (Clayton, 1993). Again what we see is a willingness to favor subjectivity over objectivity, flexibility over explicitness, standards over rules.

Americans place great faith in the notion that "no one is above the law," and the rule of law is often invoked to protect individuals against arbitrary power. In a heterogeneous society, subjective "case-by-case" evaluation opens the door to charges of discrimination. American educators must do the utmost to appear impartial and objective. With respect to the fundamental ambiguity, they lean towards professionalism. Japanese educators, on the other hand, function in a homogenous society where there is less of a need for explicitness because of shared assumptions. And, reflecting its Confucian origins, the teacher/student relationship in Japan is predicated on trust (on the part of the student) and benevolence (on the part of the teacher). With respect to the fundamental ambiguity, the Japanese professor leans towards paternalism.

In the end, it must be acknowledged that rules have an undeniable effect on those on whom they are exercised; and that the way in which we use rules in the classroom not only encourage certain forms of behavior, but also fosters a particular vision of society and self. At the same time, it must also be acknowledged that neither vision can ultimately dominate the other. On the contrary, each vision requires the other as a necessary supplement.

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Student Behaviour: Whose Norms?

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If the teacher comes from one culture and the students from another, whose norms of classroom behaviour should apply? This is a question, which, in my experience, is seldom asked explicitly by foreign teachers who work in Japan. It is possible that the question is not asked because the answer is clear and unambiguous. I would like to suggest, however, that this is not the case. Far from being unproblematic, I believe, the question is one which requires the constant application of our considered, professional judgement.

To address the question, I will first outline some of the literature showing that the norms of classroom behaviour do indeed vary across cultures and then review current approaches to the issue among the language teaching community in Japan, before questioning some of the assumptions on which these approaches rest. My goal is not to argue against all attempts by teachers to apply foreign norms to Japanese classrooms but to encourage teachers to reflect on local norms and re-examine their attitude to them.

Classroom Behaviour across Cultures

Cross-cultural research into classroom behaviour is extensive but most of it focuses on minority education contexts (see, for example, Trueba, Guthrie & Au, 1981; Trueba, 1987). The studies that have been done on foreign language classrooms (Sato, 1982; Durham & Ryan, 1992) and numerous anecdotes from foreign teachers (Maley, 1986), however, confirm the conclusion of the minority-education research that each culture has its own expectations about what should happen in the classroom.

These expectations affect every aspect of classroom behaviour from assumptions about the role of education in people's lives to the minutiae of teacher/student interaction. McKay (1992) has contrasted the American model of education based on competition and the Japanese model which, she says, is based more on individual effort. Reinelt (1988) has looked at acceptable wait-times between teacher question and student answers in the classrooms of various cultures. Ryan, Durham and Leonard (1994) have explored differences in the expectations that Australian and Japanese students have about student misbehaviour and teachers' reactions to it.

Less formal reports of differences in classroom behaviour are to be found daily in the staffroom of any school where foreign teachers work. Students are seen as too slow, too lively, reluctant to volunteer, unversed in the basics of classroom procedure like how to hand in exercise books, lacking in manners when addressing teachers. All these complaints can be seen as the results of cross-cultural differences.

Dealing with the Differences

JALT's 1993 International Conference on the theme of "Language and Culture" offered a chance to gauge how foreign teachers in Japan are approaching the differences between their own and their students' expectations of classroom life. A selection of titles from the Conference Handbook (JALT, 1993, p. 30) reveals that there is interest in this issue:

"Classroom Expectations: Behaviour and Pedagogy"
"Student Behaviour in EFL Classes"
"Listening to Lectures: Overcoming Cultural Gaps"
"Opening a Second Culture Classroom"

However, the perspective of the overwhelming majority of these presentations is that it is the

students who should be taught to conform with the teacher's norms. One presenter had made a study of foreign teachers' expectations about classroom behaviour and asserted in her abstract: "The results of this study can potentially help Japanese students become more aware of what they might do to narrow the culture-communication gap between themselves and their native-speaker teachers" (JALT, 1993, p.65). Another offered a series of critical incidents as tools to train students in how to take lessons from foreign teachers (JALT, 1993, p.41).

At previous conferences, presenters have outlined programmes to train Japanese children to be "active learners" (Paul, 1993), to use videos to school students in how to behave in class with a foreign teacher (Barfield, 1990), to offer college students rewards for "desirable behaviour" (Juguilon, 1988) and to implement a "hidden curriculum" to change students' behaviour (McGovern & Wadden, 1992).

If there was near-consensus among the presenters, the opinions of those attending these presentations seemed to be just as monolithic. I went to many of the presentations and repeatedly heard similar arguments: "If the students are there to learn English, they should learn to behave like American (British, etc.) students," was the refrain of presenters and audience alike.

Counterpoint

Finding very few references to the issue in the language teaching literature, I turned instead to another area of cross-cultural education: economic development programmes and technology transfer. Hofstede (1986), in a paper written with such programmes in mind, concludes:

> If one chooses to cope with, rather than ignore. . .the perplexities of cross-cultural learning situations, there are obviously two possible strategies:
>
> 1. Teach the teacher how to teach;
> 2. Teach the learner how to learn.
>
> . . . If there is one foreign student in a class of 30 with a local teacher, (2) is the obvious approach. If the number of foreign students increases (1) will very soon become necessary. For an expatriate teacher, (1) is imperative. (p. 316)

Why, then, does this not seem to be the consensus among JALT members?

Justifications

Proponents of the view that seemed to predominate at JALT 93 offered the following justifications for it:

1) language students expect a foreign teacher to be different.
2) language teaching is, by definition, behaviour modification.
3) learning a language necessarily involves learning the culture of the people who speak it.
4) the classroom behaviour imposed by foreign teachers has been shown to be more efficacious in the learning of languages than indigenous practices.

Whilst not wishing to reject any of these arguments outright, I think a great deal of circumspection is needed in their application to this issue. I shall deal with them one by one.

1) It's What the Customers Want

The argument that students expect a foreign teacher to be different is an attractive one. The *cachet* of the foreign teacher is apparent throughout the world and particularly here in Japan where it is the mainstay of the multi-billion yen conversation-school industry. This is clearly not just a matter of the foreign teacher's superior acquaintance with the target language and culture, but also a result of viewing foreign teachers as cultural artefacts in themselves. For many students, the possibility of contact with different ways of thinking and living is the main allure of a foreign language. The foreign teacher embodies this allure. If the teacher conducted classes just like a local, much of the attraction would disappear.

This argument holds true, however, only for students who have chosen to study with a foreign teacher. In such a situation, I believe there is a strong case for the application of some foreign norms in the classroom. Yet many of our students have not chosen a foreign teacher: many of them have been assigned to a compulsory language course which happens to be taught by a foreigner. For such students, this reasoning is inappropriate.

2) Language Teaching as Behaviour Modification

Since language is learned behaviour, acquiring another language, by definition, involves modification of behaviour patterns. The

goal of language teaching is to adjust students' behaviour so that it is closer to the norms of the target language. When joining a class the students implicitly grant the teacher the right to modify their behaviour in this way, but only in so far as it will help them to become more proficient users of the language.

If we were to ask students to practice making "l" and "r" sounds standing in front of a mirror, this would presumably be a modification of their normal behaviour patterns but it would be justified by its close relationship with studying the language. Other behaviour changes (becoming mass-murderers, rising each morning at 4:30 to pray) would clearly not be justified by this rationale. The question then becomes where exactly to draw the line between reasonable, pedagogically-justified behaviour changes and unreasonable ones. The two sections which follow address different aspects of this question.

3. Language = Culture

That language and culture are inseparable is a truism that needs little documentation here. Understanding a language involves understanding the culture that gives rise to it and using a language means entering, however briefly or imperfectly, into its culture. The competent speaker must be aware not only of linguistic norms but also of sociolinguistic and pragmatic norms that exist in societies where the language is spoken. Thus, language-teaching necessarily involves the transmission of culture and there can be no objection to classroom activities which inculcate this kind of cultural knowledge, since they are clearly covered by the implicit agreement.

However, there is ample cause to question how students' ability in the language of a society can be enhanced by exposing them to the classroom-culture of that society, for this is the element of culture most likely to be learnt from the imposition of foreign classroom norms.

For one group of students, the answer to this question is clear. For students who are being prepared to study in a country where the language is spoken there is undoubted benefit in preparing them for the kinds of interactions they are likely to encounter in the classroom whilst abroad.

For students who are not being prepared to study abroad, however, the answer is less clear. As Andersen has demonstrated (1985), the micro-culture of the mono-cultural classroom is imbued with the ethos of the culture that surrounds it. Foreign teachers could argue that in imposing their own classroom norms they are providing students with insights into the ethos of the target culture.

Since few students are trained as ethnographers, to be effective, this approach would need to be accompanied by some overt encouragement to the students to consider the cultural values that lie behind their own and the teacher's expectations of classroom behaviour. If the clash of expectations remains unanalysed, it can easily be dismissed by the students with such thoughts as "All foreign teachers are strict" or "The teacher does not know how we do things in this country."

To avoid such emotional reactions, it would perhaps be best, in constructing a course, not to involve students as participant-observers who must analyse the teachers' expectations as well as living up to them but to use videos of classrooms from the target culture that would allow students to observe without participating.

Language courses which overtly attempt to turn the students into classroom ethnographers are very rare. One reason for this is perhaps that it is doubtful that such ethnographic investigation represents an efficient use of teacher and student time and, more importantly, that the insights it would provide are of a kind that would be of direct use in improving proficiency in the language.

4. Tried and Tested Methods

Perhaps the most convincing argument for expecting students to conform to the classroom practices of their foreign teachers is that the methods of the teacher have been shown to be effective. As most language teaching research is carried out in English-speaking countries, it is understandable that teachers arriving from these countries may know more about it than local teachers or students.

The assumptions behind this argument are often reinforced by the apparent ineffectiveness of local classroom practices. In the case of Japan, the school-system may or may not be teaching English efficiently but it is undeniably successful in producing high-school graduates who say "I have studied English for 6 years [following local classroom practices] but still I cannot speak English."

A foreign teacher, faced with such students, may well come to the conclusion that the solution to the perceived inefficiencies of the local system is to teach in a different way, one shown by research to be effective. Thus the application of foreign classroom procedures becomes desirable as the best way to help students achieve their goal of linguistic proficiency.

Many programmes of learner training are based on these assumptions. Learner training began by looking at the attributes and activities of successful language learners. From this was

developed a number of practices that can be taught to less successful learners to help them to become more successful (Oxford, 1989).

This argument for changing student behaviour, then, rests firmly on research into the efficiency of different behaviours. The first point to be made is that many of the behaviours that foreign teachers seek to encourage are unsupported by research. Behaviour like bowing to a teacher before a lesson begins, consulting classmates before answering a directly-addressed question from the teacher, and speaking quietly when dealing with a teacher may or may not be hindrances to more efficient language learning. There is no research to prove the matter one way or the other. Yet the eradication of such behaviours is often a goal of learner training packages offered by foreign teachers in Japan (e.g., Skevington, 1993).

For the areas in which research exists, the question is how widely the research results are applicable. Much of the research is carried out in the major English-speaking countries with subjects who are already living in the target-language community (i.e., *second* language students), yet the students dealt with in this paper are still in their own country (i.e. , *foreign* language students). The differences in the linguistic environment alone should give cause for thought about the applicability of research data from one group of students to the other. There are many other differences between the two groups: their motivation for learning the language, average class-size, average age, and familiarity with the target culture all differ.

Studies of the effectiveness of various classroom practices over a wide variety of contexts do exist (especially in the areas of teaching methodology and classroom activities) and such studies can be carried out locally. Where research results applicable to the local context are available, they represent a powerful argument in favour of modifying teacher and student behaviour. However, where applicable studies do not exist, the argument is much weaker.

Conclusion

As the above comments show, there are several areas in which a strong case can be made for the application of foreign classroom norms. Specifically, they are:

- when students have voluntarily chosen a teacher with foreign ways.
- when students are being prepared to study abroad.
- when research directly applicable to the teaching context suggests that such modification will lead to more effective learning.

However, these points are far removed from the unproblematic generalisations we started with. Each calls for careful judgements to be made by the teacher.

Here the model of the "reflective teacher" (Richards, 1990) seems to be a useful one. This model sees teachers as constantly gathering information about the classroom and the learning going on there and using this information as a basis for thousands of classroom-level decisions about how to proceed.

What I am proposing is that the norms of behaviour to be applied in classrooms constitute one of the areas about which teachers who work across cultures need to reflect more deeply than many of them have done so far.

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What Makes a Good Language Lesson?

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Rationale

Many elements go into the making of a language lesson: teacher, students, materials, atmosphere, ground rules, physical facilities, supplementary resources available, to name but a few. This study is an attempt to understand, from the students' point of view, what elements are necessary to make the lesson a good one. It is part of an on-going research project which will, at a later stage, also involve asking similar questions of teachers. It is based on the assumption that a good way to find out what students are thinking is to ask them. It also assumes though, that for various reasons, teachers do not always have the chance to consult their students on such basic issues. It is not motivated by the idea that good teaching consists solely of giving students what they want. Rather, it rests on the belief that informed teachers take good decisions and that students' views are one of the areas of which teachers should seek to inform themselves.

It is particularly important for foreign teachers to inform themselves about their students. Previous research projects I have been involved in have convinced me that students' views on such basic issues as what a good teacher is (Durham & Ryan, 1992), a good student (Ryan & Durham, 1992) or a just punishment (Ryan, Durham & Leonard, 1994) differ across cultures. Foreign teachers have seldom had the opportunity to be students within the culture in which they are teaching and so are likely to make incorrect assumptions about what their students are thinking.

Japanese teachers, too, can benefit from such a survey. Although it is a common habit to think of cultures in terms of nation states, the perception gaps that exist between generations or between successful students (who are likely to become teachers) and less successful ones (who are not) can be just as large as many occurring across national borders.

The Survey

Students at various kinds of schools and colleges were asked to respond in written Japanese to the open question (also in Japanese):

> Think of the best English lesson you have ever had. What was good about it? What made it different from other English lessons? Please give a detailed answer.

The question was left deliberately open (some might say vague) in order to avoid pre-judging the answers by suggesting that they might involve certain categories. The dangers of asking an unintentionally loaded question are particularly strong when, as in this case, the researcher and the respondents come from different cultures.

The question was printed at the top of a sheet of A4 paper. At the bottom of the paper was a line asking respondents to record their

gender and their grade in school. The rest of the paper was blank for the respondents to write on.

The survey was conducted during regular English lessons (See Table 1). This has the potential disadvantage of focussing students' attention on things that have happened in that particular class but the potential advantage of catching them in a "language lesson" frame of mind.

No time-limit was suggested to the respondents but most of them finished within 10 minutes. The responses were analysed to extract the elements of a good lesson which they mentioned. If, for example, a response said: "The best lesson I ever had was a conversation lesson with a foreign teacher," it was read as one mention of conversation and one mention of a foreign teacher.

As more responses were analysed, the list of elements grew longer and it was possible to group some of them under headings such as "Type of Lesson," "Atmosphere" and "Materials." This grouping was done in order to make a long list of elements digestible for consumers of the results and is not intended to suggest that the students themselves would have grouped their responses in this way.

Table 1 Sample Data were collected from the following groups of students

Data Samples

Company class:	13 respondents;	2 female, 11 male
University - high level (non-English majors):		
1st year:	97 respondents;	32 female, 65 male
2nd year:	55 respondents;	22 female, 33 male
3rd year:	11 respondents;	8 female, 3 male
University - mid-level (2nd year students):		
English majors	26 respondents;	9 female, 17 male
Non-English majors	19 respondents;	13 female, 6 male
Engineering university (1st year students):	38 respondents;	4 female, 34 male
Women's university (1st year students):	23 respondents;	all female
Junior College (English majors):		
1st year:	41 respondents;	all female
2nd year:	51 respondents;	all female
Senmongakko (1st and 2nd year):	27 respondents;	9 female, 18 male
High School - high level:		
1st year:	34 respondents;	11 female, 23 male
2nd year:	30 respondents;	16 female, 14 male
3rd year:	27 respondents;	13 female, 14 male
High School - mid-level (3rd year students):	37 respondents;	20 female, 17 male
Junior High School - low level (2nd year students):	43 respondents;	all male

Total: 572 respondents; 274 (47.9%) female; 298 (52.1%) male.

Results

With respondents of such different ages, backgrounds, levels of academic ability, and types of institution, I had no intention of producing one set of results to show the preferences of the "average student." I considered that such figures would be meaningless. Consequently, I drew up tables for each of the types of institutions, differentiating respondents where possible by grade or by major.
These tables were distributed at JALT 95 and are available fromthe author.

However, the most surprising finding to emerge from this study is that there is very little difference in the elements of a good language lesson mentioned by respondents, regardless of any of the demographic or institutional variables. Students in all the groups listed above tended to mention roughly the same

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elements in roughly the same proportions.

As a result, I no longer hesitate to offer the following table (Table 2) which not only summarises all the results obtained but also offers a reasonably fair reflection of the answers given by any particular group of students surveyed. The table is followed by a list of points on which a particular sub-set of the sample did differ from the average.

Points on Which Particular Groups Varied From This General Picture:

Company class--Obviously the sample (13) was too small to draw any conclusions.

University - high level--Students in this group were particularly eager to learn practical English for discussing topical topics. First year students especially enjoyed expressing their own ideas in English.

University - mid-level--A high percentage (31.5%) of non-English major students in this group said they had never had a good English lesson.

Engineering university--In this group, students were especially enamoured of conversation lessons in which they could talk to each other.

Women's university--No obvious variation from the average.

Junior College--These students loved watching videos.

Senmongakko--Fun and games were particularly favoured by this group.

High School - high level--Third year students here liked nothing better than having a foreign teacher chat with them about life abroad.

High School - mid-level--These students set great store by clear explanations, especially of grammar points.

Junior High School - low level--Fun, games an lessons about pronunciation went down well here.

Discussion

The results tabulated above speak for themselves. A very strong pattern emerges at all the institutions surveyed: students like to learn practical English in small conversation classes taught by foreign teachers using videos in a fun atmosphere with games and explanations that are easy to understand.

It will be interesting to see, when the second part of this survey (asking a similar question to teachers) is complete, to see how far language teachers see it as their role to provide students with these things.

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Table 2 The Elements of a Good Language Lesson
Grand Summary of Elements Mentioned by More than One Respondent

Type of lesson	
Conversation	111
Listening	26
Pronunciation	29
Speaking	13
Reading	6
English literature	6
STEP/TOEFL preparation	4
Vocabulary	4
Drama	2
Content (other than English)	2
Grammar	2
Atmosphere	
Fun	89
English only	18
Relaxed	18
Chance to make friends	9
Interesting	6
English the main classroom language	5
Tense	5
Fresh	3
Friendly	2
Free	2
Slow pace	2
Breaks in lesson	2
Teacher	
Foreign	110
Entertaining	19
Knows many interesting things	4
Knows English well	3
Team-teaching	3
Speaks English	3
Knowledgeable	2
Foreign perspective	2
Corrects students' mistakes	2
Can speak Japanese	2
Beautiful	2
Clear pronunciation	2
Motivates students	2
Students	
Active	10
Have a sense of progress	6
Can get a good grade	3
Prepare well	2
Want to participate	2
Include some foreign students	2
Materials	
Video	56
Songs	18
Tape	8
Handouts (not textbook)	6
Newspapers	3
Ideas from students	3
Go beyond textbook	3
Pictures	2
Activities	
Games	51
Talk to foreign teacher	27
Talk to other students	14
Express their own ideas in English	11
Quiz	9
Groupwork	7
Discussion	7
Pairwork	6
Teacher corrects pronunciation	6
Party	5
Listen to a tape	3
Teacher explains the logic of grammar	2
Teacher asks many questions	2
Role play	2
Students talk to teacher individually	2
Students talk about themselves	2
Debate	2
Students can earn bonus points	2
Students speak a lot	2
Talk to teacher in English	2
Frequent tests	2
Lesson content	
Practical/useful English	43
Real English	33
Foreign life	30
Daily conversation	30
Pronunciation	11
Topical topics	8
Logic of English	7
Foreign teacher's experiences	5
Basic English	4
No grammar	4
Natural conversation	3
Goes beyond text itself	3
Comparison of varieties of English	2
How to study	2
Explanations	
Easy to understand	39
Simple	11
Stresses important points	4
Thorough	2
Methodical	2
Class Size	
Small	24
Other	
No preparation needed	2
Frequent lessons	2

Learning Styles of Japanese Students

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Recent growing interest in the learner-centered classroom which emphasizes the learner's needs, interests, and preferences sheds light on individual differences of the learners (e.g., Nunan, 1988; Richards & Lockhart, 1994). In the pre-course planning stage of the learner-centered curriculum, students' subjective information such as perceptual learning style preferences, grouping preferences, and preferred learning arrangement is asked through questionnaires along with biographic data such as age, proficiency level, and nationality (e.g., Nunan, 1988).

Among the subjective information, perceptual learning style preferences and grouping preferences play a key role in determining the parameters of the learner-centered curriculum because these preferences are closely related to preferred methodology. Yet, very limited research has been carried out in order to investigate learning style preferences of Japanese students.

Previous Research on Japanese Students' Learning Styles

Learning styles are defined as a general, consistent, often unconscious tendency of how students perceive, respond to, and interact with a new subject (Ellis, 1989; Guild & Garger, 1985; Keefe, 1979; Oxford, Hollaway, & Horton-Murillo, 1992).

Reid (1987) was the first researcher who investigated perceptual learning styles of ESL students. She developed a questionnaire which was aimed at identifying four perceptual learning styles: visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile; and two other learning styles: individual and group.

1. Visual learners are those who learn best by seeing words in books, workbooks, and on the board, and by studying films, charts, and other visual materials. They benefit most from reading.
2. Auditory learners are those who learn best from oral explanation and from hearing words spoken. They prefer learning by listening to lectures, other students, and audio tapes.
3. Kinesthetic learners are those who learn best by getting physically involved in learning. They remember things best when they learn them through role-play, simulation, and field trips.
4. Tactile learners are those who learn best when engaged in "hands-on" learning, such as building models, making things, and doing experiments.
5. Group learners are those who learn best when they work with others. Group interaction helps them understand new materials better.
6. Individual learners are those who learn best when they work alone. They are capable of understanding new materials by themselves, and remember better what they learn when they work alone.

Although Reid succeeded in identifying learning styles of most ESL students, she failed to identify statistically significant learning styles of Japanese students because they avoided checking the survey answers, *Strongly Agree* and *Strongly Disagree* (Reid, 1990).

Similarly, Hyland (1994) conducted a survey with Japanese students in Japan as well as in New Zealand in order to investigate learning styles of Japanese students. He used not only the original English version of Reid's survey but also the Japanese translation of Reid's survey because he was afraid that the Japanese students might

avoid checking the survey answers *Strongly Agree* and *Strongly Disagree*. He translated *Strongly Agree* and *Strongly Disagree* into Japanese, *tsuyoku so omou* and *tsuyoku so omowanai*, respectively, which sounded unnatural to the Japanese students. In spite of the use of Japanese in the survey, he could not identify learning styles of Japanese students either.

Problem

This research examines whether or not Japanese students have particular major learning style preferences. Furthermore, the differences of learning styles among the three groups of Japanese students are compared in order to examine the effects of the different situations they are in on their learning styles. Finally, the relationships between identified learning styles and individual variables, TOEFL scores and length of stay in the U.S. are analyzed.

Method

Research Method

A self-reporting questionnaire was used for the research.

Subjects

In total, 78 Japanese students participated in the survey: fifty undergraduate students who study at a university in Nagoya and 28 students who study at a language institute as well as regular matriculated students at an American university in both undergraduate and graduate classes. These students are further divided into three groups: (a) 40 students who study in Japan and have never studied in an English-speaking country; (b) 10 students who study in Japan and have studied in an English-speaking country for more than one year; and (c) 28 Japanese students who study at an American university.

Materials

A self-reporting survey developed by Reid (1987) was used in order to maintain validity and reliability as an instrument to measure learning styles. However, the survey was translated into Japanese for two reasons. First, some students were not proficient enough in English to understand survey questions written in English. Second, they might avoid checking survey answers such as *Strongly Agree* or *Strongly Disagree*, just as they did in Reid's (1987) questionnaire. In fact, Japanese people do not use the word, *strongly*, when they express agreement and disagreement, because it sounds too extreme and awkward. These expressions were translated into Japanese (see Appendix) so that they would indicate the same degree of agreement or disagreement as the English expressions and also sound more natural.

Statistical Analyses

Preference means for each set of variables—visual, auditory, kinesthetic, tactile, group, and individual—were calculated in order to determine learning style preferences of Japanese students. Then learning styles were further identified for each of three groups. For the students who study at the American university, the relationships between learning styles and individual variables, TOEFL scores and length of stay in the U.S., were also analyzed through analysis of variance (see Table 1).

Table 1 Learning Style Questionnaire Variable: TOEFL Scores and Length of Stay in the U.S.

Length of stay	n	TOEFL scores	n
Less than 3 months	4	400-449	2
3 to 6 months	3	450-499	4
7 to 11 months	2	500-549	14
12 to 17 months	5	550-599	5
18 months to 2 years	4		
Over 2 years	3		
Over 3 years	7		

Results and Discussion

Learning Style Preferences of Japanese Students

Contrary to Reid's (1987) survey results, Japanese students showed a variety of learning style preferences. Reid suggests that a preference mean of 13.50 or above is considered to be a major learning style preference. If the data is interpreted according to her definition, Japanese students possess, in fact, each learning style as their major one (see Figure 1). However, the data of Reid's study and this study correspond with each other in terms of the general tendency of learning styles of the students.

For example, the Japanese students in both studies have no single strong learning preference. Therefore, it is difficult to generalize learning styles of Japanese students as a group. Second, the Japanese students in both studies don't like group learning as much as the other

learning styles.

Three groups.

Overall, three groups of the Japanese students showed differences of learning style preferences (see Table 2). This supported research findings (Davidman, 1981; Reid, 1987; Viteli, 1989) that adult learners seem to be able to modify and extend different learning styles depending on the situations they are in.

The students who study in Japan and have lived in an English-speaking country more than one year showed much stronger preferences for auditory, tactile, and individual learning than the other two groups. Their learning styles are close to those of American students. The most striking fact was that the students studying in the U.S. indicated that group learning was a negative learning style. In addition, they preferred individual learning more strongly than the students who studied in Japan. They may have formed a negative attitude toward group learning because they might have had difficulty in cooperating with American or multinational students in the language institute, undergraduate, or graduate classes.

Individual Variables

TOEFL Scores

The relationships between TOEFL scores and learning styles were examined with students who study at the American university. Statistical analysis revealed significant relationships between TOEFL scores and learning style preference ($p < .05$). Less auditory, less kinesthetic, and less group-oriented students appeared to get high TOEFL scores.

Hyland (1994) states that students who learn English by Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) tend to show preferences for auditory, kinesthetic, and group learning. Nonetheless, the results show that the students who receive high scores in TOEFL tend to prefer auditory, kinesthetic, and group learning less than those who receive low scores. As a consequence, the results suggest that students who are taught by CLT will probably not be successful in examinations such as TOEFL, which measures students' cognitive academic language proficiency.

Length of Stay

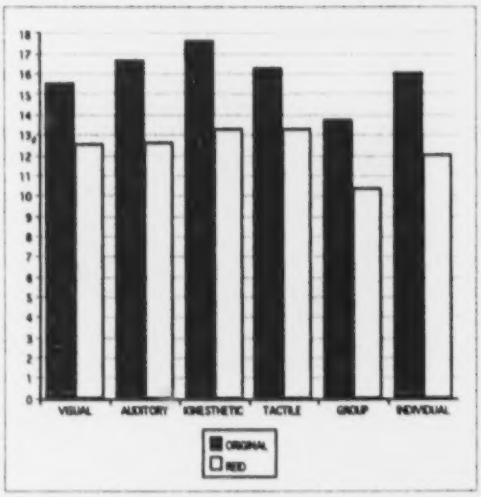
Statistical analysis demonstrated interesting trends with the students studying at the American university: The longer the students had lived in the U.S., the less they preferred kinesthetic and group learning styles, and the more they preferred the individual learning style ($p < .05$).

A strong preference for individual learning and a dislike for group learning among the students studying at the American university raise a question. In the U.S., group work is applied in university classes and in English language programs far more frequently than in Japanese classrooms. Adult learners are considered to be able to modify and extend different learning styles depending on the situations they are in (Davidman, 1981; Reid, 1987; Viteli, 1989). However, the results indicated that the Japanese students had not adjusted themselves to U.S. academic classrooms in terms of group learning. Adult learners might be able to modify and develop learning styles with respect to visual, auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile learning, but they appeared to have difficulty modifying their learning styles regarding group learning.

Conclusions and Implications for the Classroom

Japanese students showed a diversity of learning style preferences. They don't like group learning as much as visual, auditory, kinesthetic, tactile, and individual learning. They seem to be able to modify learning styles concerning visual,

Figure 1. Comparison of learning styles of Japanese students in Reid's and this study.



auditory, kinesthetic, and tactile learning styles. However, they appear to have difficulty developing individual and group learning styles. Furthermore, students who are less auditory, kinesthetic, and group-oriented tend to get high scores on the TOEFL.

Given these premises, we should consider whether or not teachers should accommodate students' learning style preferences. There are two approaches to students' learning styles which I identify as the accommodation and eclectic approaches.

Table 2 Learning Style Preferences of the Three Groups of Japanese Students

	Group A	Group B	Group C
	Mean	Mean	Mean
Visual	15.75	15.30	15.44
Auditory	16.25	18.90	16.67
Kinesthetic	17.55	18.90	17.26
Tactile	16.44	19.40	16.11
Group	15.13	15.00	11.48
Individual	15.25	16.50	17.26

Note: Reid suggests that preference means of 11.49 or less are considered to be negative learning style preference. Group A = students who study in Japan and have never lived in an English-speaking country; Group B = students who study in Japan and have lived in an English-speaking country for more than one year; Group C = students who study in the U.S.

The proponents of the accommodation approach (e.g., Carbo, 1984; Cavanaugh, 1981; Dunn, 1983; Dunn & Dunn, 1993; Hoffer, 1986; Young, 1989) assert that it is beneficial for students if teachers provide them with individualized instruction which matches the students' identified learning styles. They also argue that students show significantly better achievement and satisfaction, and improve their attitudes toward learning when taught through their preferred learning style. In addition to this, from the psychological point of view, Gregorc (1979) warns that periods of great mismatch of learning styles and teaching styles result in frustration, anger, and avoidance behavior in the students.

The proponents of the eclectic approach to students' learning styles (e.g., Davidman, 1981; Friedman & Alley, 1984; Grasha, 1984; Hunt, 1979; Hyland; 1994; Melton, 1990; Oxford et al., 1992; Reid, 1987; Smith & Renzulli, 1984) recognize that students should have an opportunity to learn through their preferred learning styles in order to experience success in academic achievement. However, they also emphasize that teachers should not accommodate individuals' learning styles on all occasions. Their arguments are based on pedagogical, psychological, and educational perspectives.

From the pedagogical view, Davidman (1981) criticizes the accommodation approach, especially the one promoted by the team of Dunn (e.g., Dunn, Dunn, & Price, 1975). He claims that their approach reinforces each student's potential learning style and promotes the creation of a personalized learning environment geared to students' preferences. It undermines the principle of public education as a vehicle for creating enlightened citizens. Moreover, individualized education might result in personalized education at home where individuals learn in the perfect environment which is congruent with each individual's learning style.

From the psychological perspective, Grasha (1984) asserts that people cannot tolerate environments which match their preferred learning styles for a long time and that such environments do not necessarily result in improved performance or interest of students.

From the educational viewpoint, the proponents of the eclectic approach (e.g., Hyland, 1994; Melton, 1990; Oxford et al., 1992; Reid, 1987) claim that students can profit most from a teacher who exhibits a wide range of teaching styles and techniques rather than a teacher who has a limited repertoire, because they will have to handle all of the styles of learning in the long run. They recommend that teachers should create materials and activities that will satisfy all the learning styles of the students.

In the Japanese university classroom, which version of the learning-style-based approach would be appropriate, the accommodation or eclectic approach? The results showed diversity in Japanese students' learning style preferences. Therefore, constantly using the same teaching style that focuses on limited learning styles would probably not be effective for these particular students. Moreover, it is not feasible to provide the students, who showed a variety of combinations of learning style preferences, with personalized instruction in the university English classroom where often more than 60 students study in one class, as is generally recommended by the proponents of the accommodation approach (e.g., Cavanaugh, 1981; Dunn, 1983, 1984; Carbo, 1984; Hoffer, 1986). The data suggests that it would be most profitable for

teachers to apply a variety of teaching styles and techniques and create materials and activities that will address every learning style, as the proponents of the eclectic approach suggest (e.g., Smith & Renzulli, 1984; Friedman & Alley, 1984).

Furthermore, if we take into account Japanese students' very weak preference for group learning and adopt the accommodation approach, it is clear that we cannot use group work frequently applied in the Communicative Language Teaching oriented classroom. Some researchers (Reid, 1987; Young, 1987) even suggest that we have to reconsider the recent TESL/TEFL curriculum innovations such as the communicative approach that was developed in a Western cultural context.

In the ESL/EFL classroom, students and teachers often possess mutually incompatible sets of beliefs about the nature of language and language learning (Nunan, 1988; Richards & Lockhart, 1994). Teachers tend to believe that communicative activities are the most effective for fluency development, whereas adult ESL/EFL students tend to believe that traditional learning activities such as grammar exercises and rote memorization are useful for learning. Therefore, teaching styles and learning styles often conflict.

It would be better for teachers to adopt the modified eclectic learning-style-based approach. In this approach, negotiating the methodology with the students would be a solution to settle this dilemma (Davidman, 1981; Nunan, 1988; Richards & Lockhart, 1994). Teachers would use instruments to identify students' perceptual learning styles only as a point of departure. That is, by using the results of the instruments, teachers would have dialogs with the students about their learning styles through conferences and classroom meetings. Through these on-going dialogs or negotiations, teachers can help students explore potential alternative learning styles such as group learning to maximize learning outcomes based on the individual's needs. For example, if the students need to develop basic interpersonal communicative skills rather than cognitive academic language proficiency, teachers can gradually move from traditional learning activities to more communicative activities by explaining the value of communicative activities to the students through conferences (Nunan, 1988; Richards & Lockhart, 1994).

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Appendix
Questionnaire in Japanese

学習スタイルについてのアンケート（アメリカで勉強している学生用）

1　名前 ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

2　年齢 ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

3　性別 ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

4　日本で何年間英語をまなびましたか？ ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

5　アメリカにはどのくらい住んでいますか？ ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

6　今、どのクラスに所属していますか？１つをえらんで○で囲んでください。

語学学校　　大学　　大学院

7　（ア）（語学学校に所属している人のみ答えてください。）

語学学校で何か月間勉強していますか？ ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

（イ）（大学生と大学院生のみ答えてください。）

大学又は大学院で何年間勉強していますか。 ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

専攻は何ですか？ ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

8　TOEFL は受けたことがありますか？

はい　　いいえ

（はいと答えた人のみ）何点でしたか？ ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

いつ受けましたか？ ＿＿＿＿＿＿＿＿

学習スタイルについてのアンケート（日本で勉強している学生用）

1 名前 _____

2 年齢 _____

3 性別 _____

4 学年 _____

5 専攻 _____

6 日本で何年間英語をまなびましたか？ _____

7 英語圏に住んだことはありますか？

はい いいえ

（はいと答えた人のみ）

何年間住みましたか？ _____

どこの国ですか？ _____

8 TOEFL は受けたことがありますか？

はい いいえ

（はいと答えた人のみ）何点でしたか？ _____

いつ受けましたか？ _____

Ozeki Japanese Questionnaire

（共通アンケート）

このアンケートは、あなたの英語の勉強の仕方について聞いています．当てはまる答えを一つ選んで○で囲んでください．答えを選ぶとき、余り深く考えず、瞬間的に答えてください．

1．先生が口頭で指示を与えてくれるとわかりやすい．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

2．授業で実際に何かを練習するのが好きだ．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

3．授業でだれかと一緒に作業をするほうがよく作業ができる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

4．グループで勉強するほうがたくさん勉強できる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

5．授業でだれかと一緒に勉強をするほうが良く勉強できる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

6．先生が黒板に書いたことを読むと良く勉強できる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

7．授業でだれかが作業の仕方を説明するのを聞くとより良く勉強できる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

8．授業で何かを具体的にすると、より良く勉強できる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

9．説明を読むより、説明を聞いたほうが良く頭に入る．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

10．説明を読むと良く覚えていられる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

11．実際に英語でモデル（ダイヤログ）などを自分で作ってみると良く勉強できる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

12．指示を聞くより、指示を読んだ方が良く理解できる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

13．一人で勉強したほうが良く物を覚えていられる．

ア　かなりその傾向がある　イ　その傾向がある　ウ　わからない　エ　そうでもない　エ　全く違う

14．宿題のために、英語で何かを作成すると、よりたくさん勉強できる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

１５．授業で何か実験しながら勉強するのが好きだ．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

１６．勉強している時に、絵、グラフ、表などを書くと良く頭に入る．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

１７．先生の講義を聞くと良く覚えていられる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

１８．一人で勉強したり、作業したりすると良く勉強できる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

１９．授業でロールプレイやスキットで役を演じると良く英語が理解できる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２０．授業でだれかが英語を話すのを聞くと良く勉強できる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２１．クラスメートと一緒に宿題をするのが好きだ．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２２．習った英語で実際に文章を作ってみたり、何かをしたりするとより良く覚えていられる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２３．他の人と一緒に勉強するのが好きだ．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２４．だれかが話すのを聞くより、同じ内容なら読んだほうが良くわかる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２５．宿題で何かを作成するのが好きだ．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２６．学んだことに関連した作業をすると良く勉強できる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２７．クラスでは一人で勉強したほうが良く勉強できる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２８．自分一人で何かを作成するのが好きだ．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

２９．講義を聞くより、教科書を読んだほうが良く学べる．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

３０．一人で勉強するのが好きだ．

ア かなりその傾向がある イ その傾向がある ウ わからない エ そうでもない エ 全く違う

日本語学習者の非言語行動の縦断的観察
－視線・うなずきを中心として－
A Longitudinal Study on JSL Learners' Nonverbal Behavior

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1　はじめに

外国語教育の大きな目標の一つとしてコミュニケーション能力の養成が挙げられるが、従来、非言語メッセージの重要性は忘れられがちであった。しかし、第二言語としての英語の学習者が口頭試験において、不適切な非言語行動のために実際の言語能力より低い評価を受けた例も報告されている（Neu, 1990）。コミュニケーション能力の養成を謳うならば、言語面だけではなく、「非言語能力」の養成も目指すべきであろう。

近年、うなずきや視線などを中心に、日本語での会話における非言語行動の実態を明らかにする努力が、わずかではあるがなされるようになってきた（池田1988、杉戸1989）。さらに、日本人の非言語行動を外国人の非言語行動と比較対照するもの（久保田1994、東山・フォード1982、メイナード1993）もあるが、文化的背景の異なる者が接触するとどのようなインターアクションが起こるかという異文化間コミュニケーションの立場からの研究（池田・池田1995、橋本他1993、山田1992）は非常に少ない。

日本語教育においては、非言語行動が指導項目としてとり入れられることは少なく、扱われる場合も「お辞儀」などのいわゆるマナーに属することが多い。しかし、非言語にはさまざまな側面があり、会話の相手との距離の取り方、視線の合わせ方、うなずきの頻度など、普段はっきりとは意識されにくいことこそ、異文化間コミュニケーションでは問題になるのではないだろうか。

日本語学習者が日本人と円滑にコミュニケーションをとれるようにするためには、教育に非言語的側面もとり入れるべきであろう。それにはまず日本語の会話における非言語行動の実態を明らかにする必要がある。本稿は、1）日本人同士の会話における視線やうなずきの会話進行上の機能、2）日本語学

習者と日本人の間の会話における非言語伝達行動の言語習得に伴う縦断的変化を捉えようとするものである。

2 調査の概要

2.1 対象者

日本人同士の会話：ある研修に参加中の30歳前後の教師6名（女性4、男性2）。

日本人と外国人の会話：東京外国語大学留学生日本語教育センターで、学部進学のために学習中の10か国28名（男性20、女性8）の留学生および同年代の日本人大学生9名（男性5、女性4）。（注1）留学生のうち本稿で分析の対象とするのは、男性6名（インドネシア4、モンゴル2）である。

2.2 資料収集の方法

日本人同士、留学生と日本人の会話共に、同性のペアを組み、テーブルを挟んで着席した対面状況における会話を録画した。なお、参考のため同国籍の留学生同士の母語による会話も記録した。ビデオカメラは4台使用し、前後左右から会話の様子を記録したが、カメラの圧迫感を減らすため、前後の2台は天井据え付けカメラを用いた。録画時間は15分程度で、そのうち会話開始後5分から10分までの5分間を分析の対象とした。

会話は日本語で行い、留学生と日本人の場合は自己紹介、日本留学のきっかけ、日本の生活、大学生活など、日本人同士の場合は自己紹介、研修参加の経緯、研修後の仕事などを話題として与えた。しかし、上記以外のテーマへ話が発展しても構わないこととした。

2.3 調査時期

外国人と日本人の会話資料の収集は、学習者の日本語レベルの初級後半・中級・上級にあたる1994年6月、10月、1995年2月の3回にわたって行った。会話の相手は毎回初対面となるようにした。日本人同士については、研修開始後約1週間でまだお互いにほとんど知り合っていない時期に実施した。

2.4 分析方法

まず、会話の言語部分を書き起こし、それに視線と頭の動きを加えた「言語・非言語テクスト」（表1、2参照）を作成した。（注2）テクストは、二人が同時に発話した部分はその重なりが見られるようにした。スクリプトは原則としてひらがなで書き表し、言い淀みはカタカナとした。句読点は使用しなかったが、意味がわかりにくくなる箇所にのみ「、」を用いた。二人の言語スクリプトを上下から挟み込むような形でそれぞれの話者の「視線」「うなずき」の様子が記述してある。言語部分の記述には以下の補助記号を使用した。

「？」・・・疑問文としての発話
「L」・・・笑い声
「＿」・・・はっきりとは聞き取れない部分
「X」・・・聴取不能部分
「C」・・・咳や咳払い

非言語のうち、視線に関しては、相手の目、または顔のあたりを見ているかどうかを正面と側面の両方の映像から判断し、見ている場合は「E」でマークし、見ている時間の経過は「EEE」のように記号の連続で表した。対象とした頭の動きは4種類で、以下の記号を用いた。同じ動きの繰り返し・持続は記号を連続して用いることによって表した。

「●」・・・はっきりした大きい縦振り
「・」・・・小さい縦振り
「／」・・・左右いずれかに首をかしげる
「Z」・・・首の横振り

非言語行動を言語との関連において捉えるには、何らかの道具が必要である。ここでは、分析の手がかりとして、発話を「事実の叙述や聞き手への働きかけをする発話」である「実質的な発話」と「判断、要求、質問など聞き手に積極的な働きかけもしないような発話」である「あいづち的な発話」（杉戸1987）に分類した。ただし、杉戸の定欽では「あいづち的な発話」とされている「単純な聞き返し」も相手への働きかけの機能を持つと考え、実質的発話として扱った。また、「あいづち的発話」に分類される「オーム返し」には、先行する相手の発話と全く同じではなくても内容的に同じものは含めることとした。

3 分析結果

「言語・非言語テクスト」を用い、日本人同士および外国人と日本人との間の会話における非言語の様子をそれぞれ検討した結果を以下に述べる。

3.1 日本人同士の会話

3.1.1 うなずき

「聞き手」のうなずきは「あいづち的発話」と共起しやすい。「うん」などの「ン系」のあいづち

（小宮1986）は8割，「ああ」などの「ア系」は7割の箇所でうなずきを伴う。さらに、相手の発話のポーズや「けど」「□て」「ね／ねえ」などのところでも起こりやすい。（注4）また「話し手」の立場でも、自らの発話の「けど」「□て」「ね／ねえ」などの箇所および「聞き手」のあいづちやうなずきに呼応するところでうなずくことが多い。

3.1.2　視線

視線の使い方としては、「話し手」は「実質的発話」の開始時に視線をそらすことが多く、終了時のあたりでは「聞き手」を見る率が高くなっている。「あいづち的発話」においては、開始時も終了時も相手、すなわち「話し手」の方を見ている率は8割程度と高い。「聞き手」の立場では安定して相手に視線を向け続けるが、「話し手」としては発話の進行に応じて視線を切り替える傾向が見られると言えよう。

3.2　外国人と日本人の会話

次に外国人学習者の日本語会話における言語・非言語行動の縦断的変化を見るために、ここでは一人のインドネシア人学習者の例を中心に検討する。

3.2.1　うなずき

表1は1回目の会話（初級終わり頃），表2はその8カ月後の3回目の会話（上級の初めあたり）のテクストの一部である。2つを見比べてもわかるように、1回目では、学習者のうなずきはかなり少ない。言語的にもほとんどあいづちを打つことがなく、あいづちが見られる場合にも「uh-huh」という、日本語にはないものである場合が多く、それに伴うようなずきも、あごを持ち上げるような動きで、日本語の会話の中では違和感を感じさせるものであった。それに対して、3回目においては、あいづちが量的に増えただけではなく、定型的なあいづち詞以外にも、「話し手」の言葉を拾って繰り返したり補ったりすることによって会話の進行を促すことが多くなるなどの質的変化が見られるが、同時に「非言語のあいづち」であるうなずきも増えている。

この学習者は、第1回目の日本語会話と同じときに録画した母語による会話では、ほとんどうなずいていなかった。これは、言語の上達につれて非言語面でも巧みに日本人の会話のスタイルを習得しているケースだと言えよう。ただし、どの学習者にもこのような変化が見られたわけではなく、今回の資料からは一般化することはできない。

3.2.2　視線

3.1.2で、「あいづち的発話」においては相手に視線を送る率が高く、「実質的発話」の場合は発話開始のあたりでは視線をはずし、終了時のあたりでは視線を相手に向けていることが多いと述べたが、この傾向は、日本人と日本語で話す外国人学習者についてもあてはまる。「話し手」は「実質的発話」が終わりに近づくと視線を相手に向け、逆にそれまで「聞き手」として相手に視線を向けていた者は「実質的発話」を始めるあたりで視線をはずすが、このことは会話の進行と密接に結びついていると言えよう。

また、前述のインドネシア人学習者の場合、表1，2にも表れている通り、1回目は視線の切り替えが頻繁に見られるが、3回目は相手を見ている時間がかなり増えている。この傾向は特に「実質的発話」開始のあたりにおいて見られるが、同様の現象は他の学習者にも見られた。日本人の場合も視線を向ける割合は、相手が初級の学習者のときに最も低く、上級の学習者、日本人の順に高くなっている。これには自らのあるいは相手の言語能力の不足が影響していると思われる。何をどのように言えば相手に伝わるかを考えなければならない場合、視線を相手に向け続けるのは困難だということであろう。学習者の「あいづち的発話」時の視線も、上級に進むにつれ、相手を見る割合が高くなり、日本人と同程度になる。ここにも同じような心理的要因が働いていると考えられる。

4　まとめ

学習者の日本語の習得に伴い非言語行動がどのように変化するかを、限られた資料からではあるが、日本人同士の会話の様子と比較して検討してきた。いくつかの傾向が見られたが、さらに多くの資料を分析しそれらを検証していかなければならないと考えている。その前提としては、言語・非言語の記述方法，カウントの仕方，「実質的・あいづち的」という発話の分類法，「ターン」という考え方などを再検討していくことが必要である。しかし、それらの課題を残してはいるものの、「言語・非言語テクスト」を用いて会話を検討することにより、非言語を含めた会話進行のプロセスがかなり明らかになってきた。

今後、上記の課題に取り組みつつ資料の拡充・分析を続け、そこから得られた知見を教育の場に還元

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し、学習者のコミュニケーション能力の向上につなげたいと考えている。

注

（1）留学生の国籍と人数は以下の通り：
男性：インドネシア4、カンボジア・シンガポール・タイ・ネパール・ブラジル・マレーシア・モロッコ・モンゴル各2、女性：フィリピン4、タイ・マレーシア各2

（2）「言語・非言語テクスト」には手の動きを記述する欄も設けてあるが、今回の分析の対象は「視線」と「うなずき」に限定した。

（3）聞き手のうなずきが話し手の発話中の接続の「て」や接続助詞・終助詞の現われる位置（多くの場合そこに短いポーズが入る）に頻出するというのは、メイナード(1993)が頭の動きも含めた「あいづち」を分析した結果ともほぼ一致している。

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Japanese Students' Nonverbal Responses: What They Teach Us

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> It isn't just that people "talk" to each other without the use of words, but that there is an entire universe of behavior that is unexplored, unexamined, and very much taken for granted.
>
> - Edward T. Hall (1990, p. vii)[1]

Context: A Description of the Teaching Context

I have been teaching English in Japan for over twelve years. In all that time, the issue which has never failed to interest and challenge me as a North American teacher is what happens when I ask students questions. Sometimes, answers are forthcoming and the class proceeds. However, there are other times when nothing seems to happen. My questions are met with silence. What are students thinking? What should I do? Will my responses to their silence help or hinder their attempts to answer? By systematically observing, interpreting, and evaluating what was happening in one of my classes, I hoped to understand what students in Japan are thinking and feeling when silent.

The first year high school students in this study were interested in supplementing their regular English studies at school with further practice in speaking and listening outside of school. A special class was held once a week in the evening. There were nine students, two boys and seven girls. Seven of the nine attend one of the two top academic schools in the city. I would describe the overall class level as pre-intermediate in terms of knowledge of English.

I became interested in learning more about this particular class because it was the least verbally responsive of all my classes. They did not easily speak out in class even though improving their *conversational* skill was their stated reason for attending. I wanted to find out why they hesitated to speak and learn how to move them towards their goal of being able to speak more.

Questions: Focusing on What I Want to Know

While students did express a range of responses both verbal and nonverbal, I focused on the nonverbal responses because they tend to be overlooked in favor of the verbal responses. Furthermore, nonverbal responses were more abundant and more consistently expressed and displayed than verbal responses in this group of students. Even the quietest student was quite animated nonverbally with gestures, facial expressions, and active avoidance of eye contact. This observation is supported by Reinelt (1987) whose series of drawings portray a Japanese student's nonverbal actions when asked a question by a non-Japanese teacher.

I wanted to know: (a) *What nonverbal responses do Japanese students make (when the foreign teacher asks a question)?; and (b) what do these responses mean?* Like Reinelt (1987), I believe that examining what happens during this silence (and why) can "increase the understanding on the part of the non-Japanese teacher " (p.4).

Data Collection and Method - Addressing the Question

Following the description of triangulation in classroom research as given in van Lier (1988), I decided to use three data sources: video, interviews, and a journal. A video of teacher-student interactions during class would serve as the central data source. Interviews with other teachers, adult students, and the students in this study would be conducted focusing on what these informants noticed about the students' nonverbal responses on video. Finally, I would write regularly in a journal about the inquiry process as new concerns, insights, and questions evolved.

I began by videotaping the class for four consecutive lessons. Then from the nearly four hours of raw footage, I selected representative interactions between each student and myself. There were six scenes lasting from one to three minutes each, for a total of 15 minutes.

I interviewed seven of my adult Japanese students, seven Japanese English teachers, and one Canadian English teacher. In the first round of interviews, I opened each interview by setting the situation: A teacher has asked a student a question, but the student is silent. Then I always asked the same series of questions: (a) What do you imagine the student is thinking?; (b) What are other possibilities?; and (c) What do you think the student would do nonverbally in each case mentioned above? From this point, the interviews became more open-ended. I jotted down the ideas being generated in order to clarify and stimulate thinking for both of us about possible reasons and meanings behind the actions. I concluded each interview by asking: *What nonverbal responses do Japanese students make and what do these responses mean?*

I conducted a second round of interviews with the same informants, showed them the 15-minute edited class video, and asked them what they noticed. This time, I prepared a viewing guide to help them organize their comments. There were three headings: nonverbal actions, meaning, and effectiveness to convey meaning. They could write in Japanese or English. What we lost in spontaneity, we gained in the thoughtfulness of their remarks. One informant wrote, "(The student in the video) looks at other things, not your eyes. She thinks and thinks what to say in English. She understands what you say, but she thinks how to say (it) in English."[2]

In addition to the class video and the interviews, I kept a journal on the inquiry process. Based on the descriptions of the use of diaries in teacher education in Bailey (1990), and Cochran-Smith and Lytle (1993), I kept a reflective account of what I was learning about my question and how to get more information about it through the data sources. I tried to make reflective analysis a regular follow-up to data collection. After one interview, I wrote, "What I learned from (Mr.) Miyazaki is students are trying to avoid confrontation with the teacher when they can't respond well. If they can respond, behavior is clear, direct, and active."[3]

In a final attempt to learn more about what others are seeing, I showed the video to the students who appeared in it. I met individually with each student. Before, during, and after viewing the video, they filled out a viewing guide about body language and related meanings (see Appendix 1).

Next, I showed them the video scenes again and froze the frame whenever there was a nonverbal action I wanted them to talk about. I would ask, "What were you thinking about at that moment?" and primarily spoke in English while students responded in Japanese.

Findings and Implications: What Do They Mean?

From the data, I compiled a list of 40 ways in which students expressed themselves nonverbally. Out of this list, six basic categories emerged: (a) direction which eyes are looking; (b) touching face or hair; (c) coordinated hand movement; (d) torso movement; (e) head movement; and (f) miscellaneous, as there were variations. For example, in the category of eye contact, they looked down in front of themselves, looked away and down, looked away and up, looked at their friend(s), looked at me, and looked at their book or notebook (see appendices).

Though producing a list of nonverbal actions appeared to answer the first part of my question, thinking beyond the observation and description of actions revealed the complexity of attempting to answer the second part of the question, "What do specific actions mean?" Here the answers were much less clear. Informants and I were skeptical about the accuracy and value of neatly assigning concise and uniform meaning to each action because such simplification did not account for individual differences or the full context of the

situation. For example, I found out that smiling for one student meant "I have finished the assignment" while it meant "I don't understand the question" for another, and "I don't want to try any more" for a third.

Hall (1976) expresses similar doubts. He believes the popularization of reading people's body language in the 70s is "doomed to failure"(p. 82). Efforts to attach specific meaning to parts of nonverbal actions do not sufficiently account for the context. However, he goes on to say,

> In any encounter, particularly intercultural or interethnic, the correct reading of the other person's verbal and nonverbal behavior is basic to transactions at all levels. In fact, the correct reading of all sensory inputs and their integration into a coherent picture is one of the most important things we do. (1976, pp. 81-82)

Well aware of the dangers of looking for highly specific meanings in students' nonverbal responses on one hand, yet on the other feeling a critical need to understand, accept, and work with their reality of the silence, I looked at the meanings of students' actions in the data. There were basic six meanings: (a) Doesn't understand the question; (b) Doesn't know the answer; (c) Doesn't know how to say the answer in English; (d) Feels nervous; (e) Feels embarrassed; and (f) Is thinking.

In order to set the meanings closer to the context in which they were perceived by the informants, I regrouped the six meanings into three broad categories based on Japanese words spoken in the interviews:1) *Wakaranai* which literally means "I don't know/understand." This category included (a), (b), and (c) above. 2) *Agaru* which includes feelings of distress, tension, and discomfort. It consisted of (d) and (e). 3) *Kangae chu* which literally means "in the middle of thinking" represented (f).

During the interviews, I had asked the informants to write down first descriptions and then meanings of the students' actions. Now, I looked at how the informants had matched action and meaning. For the category *wakaranai*, the three most frequently mentioned nonverbal actions (with the first action listed as being noticed the most) were looks away from the teacher, touches face, and looks directly at the teacher. As for *agaru*, touches hair or on side of head, plays with hands, and touches face were noticed. Looks away from the teacher, looks up, and looks down were thought to show *kangae chu*. Overlaps appeared in the results in two cases. One action is mentioned under two categories of meanings. Looks away from the teacher is found in the categories of *wakaranai* and *kangae chu*. Touches face appears in both *wakaranai* and *agaru*.

Though these overlaps reminded me that it is too simplistic and even misleading to claim there are clear and consistent one to one relationships between specific actions and meanings, I see two possibilities for classroom application. First, the results above show that use of hands and eye direction were the most noticeable features. A teacher could look for these two actions by students in order to get an idea what the student is thinking. Second, the most commonly mentioned action under each category of meaning (the first action listed under each category) suggests that one action could be expressing a problem of language, emotions, or time. Of course, the reason(s) a student is silent may be any combination and degree of the above, in addition to other factors inside and outside the classroom. However, considering key actions could represent basic problem areas.

A Change in Classroom Practice: An Application

Before this study, I tended to wait for students' answers about the same amount of time without considering that students' nonverbal actions were also responses and could be clues as to their readiness to speak. I was treating all cases of student silence in the same way, simply waiting. As a result of this study, I am now making distinctions among the students' nonverbal responses when they are silent according to characteristic actions under the three categories of meanings, *wakaranai, agaru,* and *kangae chu*. My hope is the understanding of specific commonly occurring nonverbal actions by students will generate alternative courses of actions to help students and teachers bridge the silence.

My assumption is that reading students' nonverbal responses helps me understand their situation and thus enables me to provide the kind of support they need. The findings described above can be applied to a three-part teaching decision-making process of observation, interpretation, and response. For example, if I notice the student is making considerable efforts to avoid eye contact with me, I will think he/she is having trouble either understanding the question or forming an answer. In other words, the student

wants to say, "*wakaranai.*" My response will be to give some kind of language support such as repetition of the question or explanation of vocabulary. In another situation, if the main nonverbal response I see is hand movement, such as fidgeting or touching hair or on side of head, I will respond in a manner appropriate to a student under stress. I will give emotional support through verbal and nonverbal signs of encouragement like saying with a smile, "You can do it." In a third case in which the student looks away and possibly up very calmly as opposed to the clear intention of eye contact avoidance of *wakaranai*, I will think *kangae chu*. Probably, the student mainly needs more time to either understand the question, form an answer, or both. I will wait a little longer for an answer. So now, instead of one course of teaching action or response to a student's silence (i.e., waiting), I now have three possible responses, my former all-purpose way and two alternatives (see Appendix 2).

A Final Question: What About the Students?

A final question remains to be addressed. Do the students have a greater understanding of how to be more verbally responsive as a result of participating in this study? In recent classes, I have noticed a change in their general response style. When I ask them questions now, they appear to be quicker to respond verbally while also trying to make eye contact with me. There seems to be a conscious attempt by students to give me a coordinated verbal and nonverbal response. Even when they do not understand my question, they make a greater effort to say something like "I beg your pardon?" I believe students' experience of collaborating with me, seeing themselves on video, and answering reflective questions is changing their attitude about the role of silence, nonverbal responses, and verbal responses in teacher-student conversations.

When recently asked about the relative importance of verbal and nonverbal responses in communication, one student wrote, "I can not express myself only by words, but others can not know what I am thinking without my words." [4] This idea represents the students' general conclusion. Although there is an important role played by nonverbal actions, in the end they need to express themselves verbally through words. By looking closer at the nonverbal responses which occur in the classroom, students and teachers together may reach a new level of awareness and understanding of how to communicate with each other.

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Notes

1. Hall (1990) reflects in this third edition's introduction about how the need for cross-cultural understanding through insightful observation has not diminished since *The Silent Language* was originally published in 1959.

"We must also accustom ourselves to the fact that messages on the word level can mean one thing and that sometimes something quite different is being communicated on another level. Thirty years is not enough time to make these points; certainly much more time is needed before all their implications are realized" (p.viii).

2. Mizuho Michimachi, a colleague, wrote this comment (Oct. 1994) while watching the class video. First she described the action the student was making and then imagined what she was thinking.

3. Yuji Miyazaki, a colleague, is giving me a concluding comment during our interview (Nov. 1994) based on what he had just seen in the class video and how it was related to his own observations in his classroom.

4. Hiroko Shintani (pseudonym), then a first year high school, was responding to the question: "Which is more important for good communication in English between you and your teacher, speaking, body language, or both? Why?" (Jan. 1995). This reflective writing task took place a month after the data collection including interviews with students.

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Appendix 1: Questions

*Note- *The questions on the original three-page form were written in both English and Japanese. Students were asked to write their answers in Japanese. They took three classes to complete all the questions, watch the video individually, and do the interview. Later, the answers were translated into English.*

Part I. Questions before viewing the video

1. What body language, gestures, and eye contact do you make when Ian asks you a question? (Try to give three examples.)

2. What do they mean? (The actions described above.)

3. Do you think Ian understands your meaning (of the actions described above)? Why?

Part II. Questions during video viewing

1. What body language, gestures, and eye contact did you use when Ian asked you questions that you did not immediately say an answer? (Try to give three examples.)

2. What were you thinking and feeling when you were making the actions (written above)?

3. Please speak to Ian in Japanese and explain to him what you were thinking and feeling when the action on video is frozen. (This was the interview question.)

Part III. Questions after viewing the video and the interview

1. When you don't understand Ian's questions, what body language, gestures, and eye contact do you use? (Try to give three examples.)

2. When you understand the question, but need more time to answer in English? (Three examples.)

3. When you understand the question and you know how to answer in English, but you feel too nervous, embarrassed, or shy to speak out the answer? (Three examples.)

Appendix 2: Summary Chart of Observation, Interpretation, and Response

Student's Nonverbal Action Observed	Interpretation of Category of Meaning	Potential Response by Teacher
Looks away Touches face Looks directly at teacher	*Wakaranai:* Doesn't understand question, know answer, or how to say in English	Language Support--Repeat or paraphrase the question. Explain difficult words
Touches hair or head Plays with hands Touches face	*Agaru:* Tension increases Feels shy/nervous/embarrassed	Emotional Support--Give encouraging words and stay calm
Looks away Looks up Looks down	*Kangae chu:* Thinking about question/answer/what to do	Time Support--Wait a little longer before taking action

Language, Social Meaning, and Social Change: The Challenge for Teachers

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Introduction

Linguistic form and social meaning are inseparable. Contemporary linguists who have contributed to our understanding of language as social behavior include Michael Halliday with his representation of meaning potential and the elaboration of functional grammar and Dell Hymes with his notion of communicative competence. Both theorists have contributed remarkable insight into the business of language and language use, insight that is vital to understanding the process of language learning.

With these theoretical constructs as backdrop, I have chosen to focus on teachers, both past and present, and the challenge not only of language, communication, and social meaning, but the challenge of social change. In choosing to focus on teachers, I acknowledge a lifelong engagement with teaching. A researcher who has remained at heart a teacher, I feel almost daily the pull between wanting to teach and wanting to learn. No matter how long one has been teaching, there remains much to learn. We live in a time of accelerating change, on the world front, on the national front, on the home front. Roles and identities are no sooner asserted than they are questioned, reexamined. Fresh perspectives and changing worldviews bring new understanding. All the more in a world of change, teachers are challenged to remain learners.

My focus on teachers serves also to reaffirm the essential link between linguistics and education. Linguistics has to do with language and with language awareness. Language awareness includes recognition of linguistic resources and an understanding of how language is used to negotiate and create meaning. Language awareness includes recognition of the forms and manner of discourse and an understanding of language power. Language awareness also includes recognition of language rights in a multicultural, multilingual society.

Language is not simply a means of communication. Language *is* communication. And communication both determines and is determined by social meaning. Social meaning is shared meaning, community meaning. Social meaning thus mirrors social change. Societies change. Meanings change. Language, then, is culture in motion, a system of meanings that at once responds to and influences social change.

Contemporary multidisciplinary perspectives on language use, and richer description of language use by learners--at home, in the community, and in the classroom--bring with them new insights into language learning. Language learning is seen to be inseparable from socialization. In learning how to mean, one is learning to take one's place in society. Where there are options, there may be uncertainty and conflict regarding roles and expectations. Social change, community change, comes not without controversy. By definition, socialization in a

community with a goal of democracy includes the ability to understand and participate in social change.

The challenge for teachers is thus dual: to remain a learner, attentive to social change, and at the same time enable others to more effectively interpret and participate in that change.

Language

Asked to describe what language is, teachers might well begin with words such as lexicon, phonology, and syntax. Or they might use lay terms--vocabulary, pronunciation, and grammar. For centuries, *language teaching* in academic settings has been synonymous with *grammar teaching*. The focus of language classrooms and materials around the world, grammar study remains for many synonymous with language study.

This kind of language teaching is what many who are second or foreign language teachers often do best. A long and rich tradition of grammar teaching as language teaching sustains today the centrality of grammatical analysis in most language teacher education programs. Teachers typically take satisfaction in illustrating and explaining points of grammar and engaging learners in exercises and drills to test their understanding. Where learners have a native or first language in common, translation in some form or another remains a familiar and favored activity.

Viewed within the historical context of academic language teaching, this emphasis on grammatical analysis is anything but surprising. In the West, the most prestigious if not the only languages taught in schools for many centuries were Greek and Latin. Study of these classical languages was valued in particular for the analytical skills such study was presumed to develop, not unlike the skills or muscles developed by a ballerina at the barre. In addition, the translation of ancient texts provided learners with models of moral and artistic merit. When modern languages were finally accepted into European and U. S. public school curricula, teachers eager to assert standards and rigor took care to teach French, German, and English on the pattern of grammar analysis and translation followed by their colleagues in Greek and Latin. Nonetheless, modern language study was held in low esteem. In the U.S., French was considered a suitable diversion for young ladies, along with dance and embroidery, while their brothers went to school and studied the classics. In England, when French and other modern language degree programs were established at Cambridge and Oxford at the end of the 19th century, they were considered "soft options." The quest for respectability served to squelch reform efforts to teach the spoken language, and philology took its place.

In an interesting account of this period in England, Howatt (1984) notes that the success of women students in modern language programs, in particular, was not without consequence. In reaction, philology soon became a favored focus for men students and assumed a position of prestige and favor. Parallel developments in the U. S. and other countries, both Western and non-Western, help to explain prevailing patterns of power and prestige. Such historical perspective is helpful in understanding the opposition often encountered today by those who seek curricular reforms, reforms that challenge the canon of literary texts, promote the study of contemporary language varieties and language policy, and reflect up-to-date second language acquisition theory in their instructional programs.

Communication

Increasingly, contemporary discussion of language teaching goes beyond grammar to include reference to communication. And there is likely to be some emphasis on learner involvement. Favored teaching methods today are said to be interactive, to involve the interpretation, expression, and negotiation of meaning. As the Western world emerged from the 1960s, a decade marked with student protest and demands for relevance, increased learner participation seemed both reasonable and possible. Learner interest also lent support to a new emphasis on oral communication. Communicative approaches were further bolstered by second language acquisition research findings that affirmed the role of exploration and error in the development of communicative competence.

We congratulate ourselves today on seeing language as communication, on adopting a perspective that considers roles and range in both written and spoken discourse. However, we should not so simplify history that we fail to acknowledge the recurring theme of communication in centuries past. Comenius, a 17th century European educator and philosopher well known in the history of language teaching, is often cited for his objection to the method of language teaching that had resulted from the teaching of skills of grammatical analysis in the Middle Ages. The preoccupation with grammatical analysis had grown so that by the Renaissance it was viewed as a method for actually teaching the language. In his words, "Youngsters are held

captive for years, overcome with an infinite number of grammar rules--long, entangled, obscure, and generally useless." He continues:

> The first immutable law of teaching is that form and meaning in language should always go together and that learners should express in words only those things they understand. . . . He who speaks without understanding chatters like a parrot in a cage. (1665)

In the nineteenth century, proponents of the Natural Method — language learning through language use — would rediscover Comenius. Proponents of the Natural Method spurned both phonetic and grammatical analysis. They also rejected translation, which by the end of the eighteenth century had become the basis of language teaching. Denying that explanation was a necessary part of teaching, they claimed that learners should be allowed to discover for themselves how to function in their new language. The following words were written in 1870 by N. M. Petersen:

> With respect to method, the artificial one must be given up and a more natural one must take its place. According to the artificial method, the first thing done is to hand the boy a grammar and cram it into him piece by piece, for everything is in pieces; he is filled with paradigms which have no connection with each other or with anything else in the world. . . . On the other hand, the natural method of learning languages is by practice. That is the way one's native language is acquired. (Petersen, 1870, pp. 297-298)

Thirty-four years later, the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen would cite these words and conclude: "It is now half a century ago since N.M. Petersen uttered these golden words, and still the old grammar-instruction lives and flourishes with its rigmaroles and rules and exceptions" (1904, p. 111). "Language is not an end in itself," he wrote, "it is a way of connection between souls, a means of communication" (1904, p. 4).

Today, of course, many of the methods and texts that claim to be communicative fall short of what Jespersen had in mind. Structurally-focused materials said to promote "mastery" are often concerned more with form than with "communication between souls." So-called "communication practice drills" are identified in materials that remain little changed from their audiolingual days. And grammar instruction lives and flourishes with reassertion of concern for "accuracy," where the "ideal native speaker" is said to set the norm.

Interestingly, research in second language acquisition itself has served to sustain the supremacy of the sentence. The emphasis on morphosyntactic features characteristic of most SLA research has eclipsed thoughtful attention to less quantifiable but more communicative values of language learning. In foreign language teaching in the U. S. we used to speak of cross-cultural awareness. Exchange programs and study abroad were valued for their contribution to international understanding. Literary competence was considered a reward of language study. Today in our professional journals and conferences, these broader, more humanistic perspectives are often missing. In their place, are reports of studies with conflicting findings having to do with "input," "corrective feedback," and learner "acquisition." The very use of the term acquisition suggests that language is something static, to be acquired, as opposed to a way of meaning that must be learned.

The conviction that study of the acquisition of selected morphosyntactic features will lead to discovery of the "best" classroom teaching method is reminiscent of the initial enthusiasm in the 1960s for computer aided instruction. New computer technology was seen to make possible the ideal language learning program. Research money and many, many hours of effort went in to defining a sequence of morphosyntactic development and designing programs based on learner error analysis and behaviorist principles of learning. The efforts have since been abandoned. In the meantime, however, language learners around the world continued to go about the business of learning, often in idiosyncratic and highly successful ways, both inside and outside the classroom. For a majority of the successful learners, bilingualism is the norm.

Social Meaning

If communication has been a recurrent theme in language teaching, social meaning, on the other hand, adds new dimension. Social meaning as a theoretical construct has been much discussed. However, the relation of the construct to issues of educability and educational systems awaits elaboration and action. There has been talk of language and education, but there has

been little exploitation of the construct of social meaning in teacher education, curriculum, and teaching materials. In a world of diversity and change, a curriculum designed for a monolingual, monocultural society takes on new social meaning. The unprecedented spread of English language learning and teaching throughout the world challenges programs, materials, and language assessment. Inclusion of social meaning in discussions of language teaching inevitably raises issues of standards, norms, appropriacy. Whose manner of expression is held to be the norm? How mutual is mutual intelligibility? Whose interpretations are said to set the standard? In a world of multicultural challenge and changing perspectives, normative education and universal schooling have met head on.

Within the U.S., where the language taught is other than English, cultural or cross-cultural competence remains an incidental goal. Despite the contributions to language as culture theory of Michael Halliday and Dell Hymes, the U.S. FL profession has continued to treat culture as a "fifth skill," following and seemingly distinct from so-called "language skills" of listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Language textbooks, test formats, and teacher manuals all reflect this view. Maintenance of a structurally driven discrete point tradition in language teaching requires an adjustment in any representation of communication as both variable and embedded in social context. Formulaic, simplified texts continue to stand as "context" for the presentation of grammatical forms. Social meaning is absent. In contrast, the teaching of English as a second language within the U.S. assumes learner acculturation. From the beginning of instruction, texts offer examples of American ways of expressing and interpreting meaning. These ways are presented as models appropriate for learners to follow. The contexts represented may provide indication of the anticipated social roles to be played by the nonnative learner.

Language assessment measures have long played a major role in shaping program and materials design. Examinations are a key tool in social policy. In the West, from the time Napoleon first used national examinations to select civil servants, examinations have been used to define social values. The content, format, and evaluation of such examinations have been the responsibility of a self-ordained group of judges with an understandable interest in self preservation. By the mid-nineteenth century, a system of public examinations controlled by the universities was well established. Howatt describes the impact on secondary school language curricula in England:

> The "washback effect" of these examinations had the inevitable result of determining both the content of the language teaching syllabus and the methodological principles of the teachers responsible for preparing children to take them. Though public examinations did not create the grammar-translation method, they fixed its priorities. (1984, p. 133)

A similar phenomenon occurred in the U.S. with the widespread post-World War II application of psychometric theory to language testing. A concern with "objective," "scientific" measurement of language proficiency began to grow in the 1950s and on into the 1960s, a decade aptly described as the "golden age" of standardized test development. Under contracts from the U.S. Office of Education, two major standardized test batteries were developed: the *MLA Foreign Language Proficiency Tests for Teachers and Advanced Students* and the *MLA Cooperative Foreign Language Tests*. Never since has there been such a large-scale effort to establish norms for language study in American schools.

It was during this same period that the *Test of English as a Foreign Language* (TOEFL) was launched. Developed to test the English proficiency of foreign students applying for admission to U.S. colleges and universities, the program was initially funded with grants from government and private agencies and attached administratively to the MLA. In 1965, ETS assumed responsibility for program operation, and its offices were moved to Princeton, New Jersey.

The TOEFL and MLA language tests have served not only to evaluate learners and programs, but to shape language programs and materials around the world. Alas, in making claims of objectivity and promoting standardization, they ignore all that Halliday and Hymes have shown us about the multidimensional, context embedded, social nature of language. Interpreting texts from multiple perspectives reveals ambiguity, underscores the negotiative nature of communication. Language skills are social skills, whatever the context of situation. Interpretation and self-expression involve reflection on that context. Recognition of language varieties and of the rights of language communities to identify and affirm their own needs and norms is an affirmation of social

meaning. On the other hand, language tests that fail to represent the contextualized, negotiative nature of communication cannot be said to encourage such affirmation.

When considering social meaning, teachers must also consider the issue of appropriacy in their own classroom style. Local norms offer considerable variety in this respect. Teachers may be mentors, coaches, and even friends for learners. They often are also task masters and judges. Teachers need to understand their options; and they need to see their role as dependent as much on the learners' expectations and interpretation as on their own intent. Roles are negotiated.

Novice teachers sometimes learn this lesson the hard way. In her novel, *China Men*, Maxine Hong Kingston (1989) tells the story of a lesson gone awry. Baba, a young teacher in rural China, has a love and respect for language and for literature. A conscientious and demanding teacher, he is eager to share his joy with the boys in his charge.

> At mid-afternoon, he told the students that they had been working so hard, he would treat them: he'd give them the first line of a couplet, and they could finish it almost any way they pleased. He read many examples in order to inspire them. But boredom drained their eyes. The word poetry had hit them like a mallet stunning cattle. . . . He pressed onward. . . ."Now I'll give you a first line that established the season and place," he said. "You find the second line. You can write about an animal, a plant, a battle strategy, the climate, a cloud. . . "
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> "I don't get it." "We don't understand you." "You don't explain clearly."
>
> "Take a guess," he suggested. "Taking a guess is the same as making up a story."
>
> "That doesn't make sense." "We don't understand." "You're making things up because you don't know the answers.". . . . .
>
> "Explain," said the students.
>
> The boys spoke in the brute vulgate, and he saw that he had made a bad mistake translating literature into the common speech. The students had lost respect for him; if he were so smart, he would not speak like them. Scorn curled their lips and lifted their eyebrows. "Explain," they demanded without standing up for recognition. (Kingston 1989, pp. 36-37)

Classroom style and manner of teaching hold social meaning. Negotiation of that meaning is an ongoing, dynamic process. Tradition and the expectations of the participants influence the nature of the negotiation. Inexperienced and idealistic, Baba sought to engage his learners, to impart to them his love of language by speaking to them in the way they spoke to one another. Instead, he had lost them. They no longer respected him as their teacher.

As they face a classroom of learners, teachers must ask themselves *Whose* norms hold ? *Whose* culture? and for *What*? What message does the textbook send about the value and purpose of language study? What does the curriculum say about social values, about how the members of a society see themselves and see others? In addressing these questions of social meaning, teachers confront issues of social change.

Social Change

Every society has rules for participation in social events. And these rules shape language development, social identity, and self-expression. Language also serves to identify and challenge established social rules. Michael Halliday has defined meaning potential as the range of variation available to the speaker. A linguistic act is not only a use of the potential of the language system. A linguistic act is a social and cultural act, an expression of who we are and what we value (Halliday, 1977). Language experience provides options, expands the range of what a speakers can do, of what they can mean. Hegemony comes at the expense of diversity. Options are narrowed, choice is restricted.

Where the communicative competence defined by Dell Hymes is a goal for language learners, the focus is on learner meaning and learner empowerment. Language learning is viewed in a context of social development. The communicative perspective of my own research interests in language learning, and the language as culture approach I have followed in curriculum design and teaching (Savignon, 1972; 1983)

have reflected my early educational interests in social and political science. If I had not been born a girl, these same interests may not have led me to language teaching. Inasmuch as my experience is illustrative of social change, let me explain.

My elementary and secondary school years were spent in a laboratory school on the campus of what was then called the Illinois State Normal University. Our teachers were a select group, teachers of teachers. Many of them were women. Student initiative was encouraged, and we enjoyed library, audio-visual, and other resources beyond those available in most public schools at the time. My program of studies included math, science, literature, Latin, French, history, and home economics. Freshman girls were required to learn how to make a dirndl skirt and eggs à la goldenrod. Only college-bound senior boys enrolled in physics. My mother was a wife and homemaker. Showing a proper mother's concern for the social success of her tall, adolescent daughter with clear intellectual interests, she cautioned, "Don't speak up in class or the boys won't like you."

Things went well. I didn't speak up too much and my steady boyfriend was the captain of the basketball team. But I did end up the class valedictorian. My classmate Steve was salutatorian. Miss Stroud, our senior class advisor, planned our commencement program. Sandra would speak of the past, our rich literary and artistic heritage. Steve would look to the future, science and adventure in the years ahead.

My college major was social studies. French was always an easy subject and I went on to develop my ability through a year of study in Grenoble. My dream was a career in foreign diplomacy. My father encouraged me to seek a teaching certificate, "always a good insurance policy for a woman," he reasoned. I followed the rules and was engaged to be married in June after my graduation.

That I went on to do graduate studies was in no way a reflection of any professional expectations or ambitions. I had never even seen a woman college professor, much less aspired to be one. The encouragement of my academic advisor along with a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship framed my future in ways I could not have imagined. Launched on a program of philology and literary criticism, the only graduate option then available in French, but still holding to my socio-political interests, I sought to include a minor in political science. "No way," said the professor who had given me an A in his upper division course in American political analysis. "I don't accept women graduate students." So it happened that I chose a minor in linguistics. My good fortune was that Illinois had one of the best linguistics programs in the U.S. My first professor, Kenneth Hale, initiated me in the analysis of Papago field data. Eventually I would forsake French literary studies for psycholinguistics and second language acquisition.

I recount this story because it is mine, and because it colors my interpretation of the world and helps to define what I can mean, how I can mean. Language learning is embedded in socialization. Important contributions to the analysis of gender differences in language use by Elinor Ochs, Deborah Tannen, Cheris Kramma-rae, and others have helped me to understand how, as a woman, I have come to interpret, express, and negotiate meaning as I do. Through the insights they have provided, I have come to see more clearly cultural differences in style for what they sometimes are--differences not in intent but in means of expression. Differences in style and manner of expression are OK. Even in professional settings--the classroom, committee meetings, and conferences--I can be myself and not feel I should try to be one of the boys. It also helps to have a few more women colleagues with whom to exchange experiences, and I am pleased when I see women assume roles traditionally assigned to men, for example, as heads of academic units and plenary speakers at professional meetings.

I have also come to better understand power asymmetry and self-disenfranchisement. Not all participants in negotiation are equal, and assertion of rights comes more easily to those in positions of power. Dominant groups have an advantage in working out meanings with which they are comfortable. Recognition of established differences in socialization brings with it a sense of place, along with a better appreciation of what is needed to promote change. And having known how it feels to be shut out, to have a voice muffled, if not silenced, I am better able to understand the feelings of others who seek self-expression, affirmation of self-worth.

Ours is a time of marked socia' change. In our communities, in our workplaces, and in our schools, diminishing resources and shifting ethnic, racial, and linguistic balance bring a growing sense of inequity and disarray. In the U.S., businessmen blame the Japanese for a stalled economy, politicians increasingly cite the poor, a disproportionate number of them black or Hispanic, as a drain on the national coffers, and a powerful and articulate lobby is demanding that English be declared the national language. As

cultural and linguistic values are argued, incidents of cultural, ethnic, racial, and sexual violence increase. Ours is a time of change, marked by anxiety and struggle. We move through zones of uncertainty. Whose cultures will survive? What literature will remain? However imperfectly, can we learn to listen to the voice of the other? Can we find peace in pluralism?

Conclusion

The challenge to teachers is clear. For so long as there have been languages, there have been language learners. And for so long as there have been learners of language, there have been teachers of language. Whether they are children or adults, whether the language they are learning is their first, second, or third, learners need teachers. The best teachers provide a model for learners. They engage and guide them in their efforts at self expression. Teachers interpret and respond to learners. They know and understand learner limitations. Above all, good teachers challenge learners.

Language is communication, communication rich with social meaning. Program development, teacher education, and program evaluation should begin with an understanding of language as communication, language as culture. The communicative ability important for participation in academic, professional, and social settings comes with practice, practice along with critical and self-critical analysis of language use. Talking about communication involves talking about grammar, yes, and more. Knowledge of language includes knowledge of grammar, syntax, vocabulary, modes of discourse, print and nonprint genres, and rhetorical strategies, the use of language to influence others. Learner metalinguistic and metacognitive awareness begins with awareness of self and of the ways in which one can mean.

There are linguistic rules and there are social rules. Language and language learning are also powerful forces for social change, for breaking rules. In a time of social conflict and disputed values, teachers are challenged to challenge learners to look, to discover, and to reflect. With the ability to interpret the context in which they find themselves, and the courage to express their own meanings, they will be better able to take their place in a multilingual, multicultural world of diversity.

At the same time, language teachers are challenged to speak their own truths, express their own meanings. We come to teaching with our own life experiences, our own goals, our own interpretations. Together we share a commitment to reflection and negotiation. We are teachers because we believe in enabling, in empowering those who will shape the future. As language teachers who understand communication, we are challenged not only to learn and to enable others. We are also challenged to take an active role in the government of our society and nations. We are challenged to identify those who hold power and endeavor to influence them in an enlightened and politically sophisticated way. Education for responsible world citizenship is the solution to our most pressing human problems. The language teaching profession must exert leadership in our global society, not only in the teaching of language and education in general, but also as good citizens in a changing and globally interdependent world.

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